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THE MANICHAEAN HYMN-CYCLES IN PARTHIAN

BY

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Dedicated to
W. B. HENNING

PREFACE

THE originals of the texts published here, the property of the Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, were among the material brought back from Chinese Turkestan by German archaeological expeditions in the early years of this century. Some of these particular texts soon attracted attention, as representing a work or works of great interest for the general understanding of Manichaeism; but the fragmentary nature of the material delayed its comprehensive study. Notable progress in the reconstruction of the texts was made latterly by Professor W. B. Henning, who was unable, however, to find time to pursue this work. I have been privileged to incorporate, with acknowledgements, the material collected by him in the present edition of the texts, for the preparation of which he generously gave me free access to his collection of photographs of the Berlin manuscripts. This collection, although large, is not complete; but I have been able to compare its contents with the descriptive catalogue made by Dr. Lentz of the Akademie collection, and it seems unlikely that any important Parthian strophic material is missing. The present edition was ready for the printer before it proved possible to get in touch again with the Akademie, to whom I am grateful for raising no objection to its immediate publication. Nevertheless, I much regret that the manuscripts themselves were not accessible when this study was made, since photographs are in many cases a poor substitute for the originals. Care has been taken, however, to indicate all uncertain readings. When reference to the originals is possible, many of these will doubtless be clarified.

The basis of the present work was approved by the University of Cambridge for the degree of Ph.D. in 1952. Professor Henning acted as supervisor of my research, and I am deeply indebted to him for advice and help, unstintingly given. My thanks are also due to Dr. Arthur Waley for his kindness in sparing time to study the Chinese version of a part of these hymn-cycles; and to Dr. Wolfgang Lentz for helpful criticisms, offered with a characteristic magnanimity. Professor Henning very kindly read one set of proofs, and Dr. Gershevitch gave help with advice and with a part of the proofs. I am further very grateful to my friend Mrs. Maria

Henning for the kindness and skill with which she helped me prepare the texts for the press.

I should like to express my gratitude to my own college of Newnham for the award of a research studentship which enabled me to begin this study; and to the School of Oriental and African Studies for providing a full subvention for the publication of this work in the London Oriental Series. I should also like to express my appreciation of the skill and helpfulness of the Oxford University Press.

M. B.

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INTRODUCTION

I. PREVIOUS WORK ON THE HYMN-CYCLES

THERE are in Parthian three long texts which are divided into sections known as *handāms* or 'limbs'. One of these, *Wazargān Afriwan*, is written as prose. The other two, which take their titles from their opening words, are the hymn-cycles *Huwidagmān* and *Angad Rōšnān*. These hymn-cycles are the subject of the present work, in which the term '*handām* text' is restricted to them alone.

The first scholar to publish any part of the hymn-cycles was F. W. K. Müller, who illustrated a point of orthography by a verse from the sixth canto of *Angad Rōšnān*, existing in three manuscripts.¹ Later he used a verse from the seventh canto of the same cycle to explain a phrase.² Both verses were reprinted by C. Salemann.³ Müller did not publish any account of the *handām* texts; but in 1918 he sent his notes on them to R. Reitzenstein, with permission to use them for his book *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium*.⁴ He also sent Reitzenstein photographs of several of the *handām* fragments, which he studied with some help from F. C. Andreas.

Reitzenstein was then seeking to prove that there had existed among the Zoroastrians of Iran a salvation-mystery, inherited by the Manichaeans and transmitted to religious communities in the West.⁵ The Manichaean material which he examined for this purpose consisted of the fragments M 7 and M 4 and the following *handām* fragments: M 88 I, M 89, M 91, M 93, M 96, M 175, M 439, M 774, and T II D 178 I-IV. His interpretation of M 7, namely, that it contained a Zoroastrian hymn adapted by Mani for his own community, has not been accepted.⁶ His theories about M 4 and the *handām* fragments remain to be considered here.

¹ F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriften-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan, Chinesisch-Turkistan*, ii (Abh. P.A.W., 1904, Anh.), p. 6.

² *Eine Hermas-Stelle in manichäischer Version* (Sb. P.A.W., 1905), p. 1083.

³ C. Salemann, *Manichäische Studien* (Zap. Imp. Ak. Nauk, 1908), pp. 21, 35.

⁴ Bonn, 1921.

⁵ Reitzenstein had mentioned this theory briefly in a previous work. See *Das manichäische Buch des Herrn der Grösse* (Sb. Heidelberger A.W., 1919), p. 88.

⁶ See O. G. von Wesendonk, *Urmensch und Seele in der iranischen Ueberlieferung*, p. 122; H. H. Schaeder, *Urform und Fortbildungen des manichäischen Systems*, p. 105 n. 3; W. B. Henning in Andreas-Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*, iii, p. 872 n. 1.

M 4 consists of two double sheets containing both Middle Persian and Parthian texts. It was published by Müller¹ and re-published by Salemann,² both times with the sheets in the wrong order. The mistake was corrected by Reitzenstein, who made a detailed study of the Parthian text.³ This is of an unusual character, being made up of the first line or lines of a series of hymns, grouped according to subject-matter. The number of lines in a group varies. Each group has its own heading, but some of the headings are themselves obscure.⁴ Two can, however, be readily interpreted: 'zg'myg b's'h'n ('death hymns') and fršgyrdyg b's'h ('end-of-the-world hymn(s)'). From these Reitzenstein inferred that the whole text was a death-mass for the World-Soul, whose deliverance from matter 'erst mit dem Ende der Welt vollständig wird'.⁵ He explained its unusual character by supposing it to be an abstract of a larger work, namely of the hymn-cycle *Angad Rōšnān*. The title of the sixth (and last) section of M 4 is *nys'r'd 'ngd rwsn'ny b'[š']*: 'Begun the hymn(s) connected with *Angad Rōšnān*.' Beneath this only one line is preserved, which is the opening line of the hymn-cycle. Nothing else survives to show the nature of the *angad rōšnānī* hymns or their relation with the cycle itself. It was on this evidence that Reitzenstein sought to establish a close connexion between the whole of M 4 and the *handām* text.

By chance two of the longest fragments of the hymn-cycle available to Reitzenstein bear the title 'Sixth Limb—*Angad Rōšnān*'.⁶ He assumed therefore that the title *Angad Rōšnān* was peculiar to the sixth section both of the hymn-cycle and of M 4;⁷ and thus that each section of M 4 corresponded with a canto of the hymn-cycle. The cantos he believed to be composed of sets of short hymns;⁸ and he therefore further supposed that each hymn was

¹ *H.-R.* ii, pp. 49 ff.

² *Man. Stud.*, pp. 4 ff.

³ In these pages M 4 is used with reference to the Parthian section of the fragment only.

⁴ Thus the title of *ingy'nyg b's'h'n* ('body-soul hymns') is recorded in only one other place (see Henning, *BBB.*, p. 47, text d); and those of *gy'nyg b's'h'n* ('soul hymns') and *mwqr'nyg b's'h* occur only here. The literal meaning even of the latter is unknown. The lines beneath it appear to have a Semitic original (see M. Lidzbarski, 'Ein manichäisches Gedicht', *N.G.G.W.*, 1918, pp. 501 ff.).

⁵ *Erl. Myst.*, p. 18.

⁶ These are M 96 and M 175.

⁷ This assumption was particularly rash in the case of M 4, which is a fragment without beginning or end. It is unlikely, therefore, that the numbering of the sections as they survive is significant. This was pointed out by Lentz; see *W.-L.* i, p. 67.

⁸ Reitzenstein was misled by the fact that on M 91 and M 175 there is a

represented by its opening line in the corresponding section of M 4. This was an attractive hypothesis, but one based on wrong assumptions. *Angad Rōšnān* is the title of the whole work;¹ and the cantos of which it is composed consist of unbroken runs of verses. There is thus no basis for a formal comparison between M 4 and the hymn-cycle.

Reitzenstein suggested that *Angad Rōšnān* had originally consisted of twelve cantos, corresponding with the twelve hours both of the day on which the cycle was chanted and of a symbolic Day of Light.² Having named M 4 'die abgekürzte Totenmesse', he called the hymn-cycle correspondingly 'das grosse Erlösungsmysterium'. He used the term 'mystery' in a restricted sense, however, pointing out that in Manichaeism 'von einer kultischen Handlung findet sich keine Spur, und dass wir es nicht mit dem *ἐπὶ λόγος* eines wirklichen Mysteriums zu tun haben, sollte schon die grosse Zahl der Exemplare beweisen'.³ He made, nevertheless, a close comparison between the hymn-cycles and the funeral liturgies of gnostic sects. The subject of the Iranian texts he held to be the 'death' and salvation of the First Man, symbolizing the death in matter and deliverance of Light and of individual souls. He supposed at first that the deities Friend of the Lights, Xrōštag, and Padwāxtag figured in the surviving verses.⁴ Later, in his book *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*,⁵ he abandoned the details

blank space marking the end of a canto. As he attributed all verses on these fragments to the sixth canto, he supposed this space to show a division within the canto itself. He was also influenced by M 88 II, containing short *Evangelionig* hymns, which have, however, no connexion with the *handām* texts on M 88 I, as he himself later recognized (see his *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, 3. Aufl., p. 277).

¹ This is suggested even by some of the fragments available to Reitzenstein. M 89 bears clearly the title: 'Eighth Limb—*Angad Rōšnān*'; and M 91 and M 774 both have titles to be restored as 'Seventh Limb—*Angad Rōšnān*'.

² *Erl. Myst.*, pp. 95–96.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁴ The words *rwšn'n fry'ng*, from which he then argued the presence of Friend of the Lights, are used as a laudatory epithet for any god or angel. The deity himself is called in Parthian *fryhrwšn*. The presence of the god Padwāxtag was assumed from the letter *p* which appears sometimes in the margins (see below, p. 24); but this device (for *padwāg* 'answer') probably marks the antiphon, as suggested by Müller.

⁵ 3. Aufl. (1927), pp. 53–55. Reitzenstein's earlier theories were admirably summarized by H. Gressmann in *Die orientalischen Religionen im hellenistisch-römischen Zeitalter* (1930), pp. 172–5. This book, published posthumously, was completed in 1923. It therefore contains no reference to Reitzenstein's modification of his theories.

of this mythological interpretation, but maintained the essentials of his theory.

Reitzenstein had serious handicaps in his study of the *handām* texts. Knowledge of the Parthian and Middle Persian material was then still very limited, even among Iranists; and he himself was not a specialist in this field.¹ Nevertheless, his contributions to the subject were of great value. He was the first to emphasize the importance of the texts, justly remarking that the number of surviving fragments alone shows that 'es sich um einen Kernpunkt der manichäischen Religion handelt';² he realized that the surviving verses represent what must once have been an elaborate work on a grand scale;³ and he put forward a theory of the nature of that work which, however wrong in detail, is probably in the main not far from the truth.

Five years after *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium* had appeared, E. Waldschmidt and W. Lentz published in collaboration *Die Stellung Jesu im Manichäismus*,⁴ a study of the part played by the redeeming deity Jesus in Manichaeism. Lentz, who was responsible for the Iranian part of this work, supposed the Saviour of the *handām* hymns to be Jesus.⁵ He therefore discussed the hymn-cycles at some length, and also published the text, with translation, of several *handām* fragments. This was the first publication of any considerable amount of text.

The fragments published by Lentz were T II D 178 I-IV and M 855. The former group was known to Reitzenstein, and had been assigned tentatively by him to a second canto. Lentz was able to advance the study of the *handām* texts considerably by connecting T II D 178 I with a Sogdian colophon, and showing thereby that the fragment belongs in fact to a fifth canto. The colophon in question occurs in a manuscript represented by fragments with the signatures T II K 178, T II D II 170, T II D 185, and T II K. This manuscript appears to have been a hymn-book of considerable size, containing several lengthy works in Sogdian translation. The extant titles and colophons show that in addition to

¹ For Reitzenstein's own remarks on the limitations both of his technical equipment and of the Iranian material available to him, see his later work, *Die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe*, p. 98 and n. 2.

² *Erl. Myst.*, p. 19.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁴ *Abh. P.A.W.*, 1926 (= W.-L. i.).

⁵ Lentz based this suggestion partly on the evidence of M 88 II, which he believed to contain verses from a *handām* text; but see above, p. 2 n. 8.

two major Parthian works, *Huwīdagmān* and *Wazargān Āfriwan*, it included the extensive Middle-Persian hymn-cycle *Gōwīšn īg Grīw Zīndag*. Unfortunately the manuscript is now in a fragmentary state. It is written, moreover, in a cursive hand very difficult to decipher.

The Parthian fragment T II D 178 I contains verses from the end of one canto and the beginning of another. The opening words of the second canto are:

'g'm ky¹ bwj'h 'w mn o 'c hw jfr 'bn's

Lentz found a page in the Sogdian MS. containing a colophon that read as follows:

pty'mty pncmy 'ndmy "k'm ky¹ pwz'

i.e. 'Finished the fifth limb: *āgām kē bōžā*'. Evidently the opening words of a canto, *āgām kē bōžā*, had here been used to provide a title for the canto as a whole; and Lentz was able therefore to say that T II D 178 I contained the beginning of a fifth 'limb'.² On the verso of the Sogdian page bearing this colophon appears the word [γwy]δkm'n. This shows that the canto in question belongs to the cycle *Huwīdagmān*. Lentz did not, however, pursue Reitzenstein's suggestion that there might be two recensions of the hymn-cycles,³ nor did he seek to distinguish between the different Western Iranian originals represented by the Sogdian translations; for at that time it was not unnaturally assumed that the significant word in the titles of these texts was 'handām' (Sogdian 'ndmy), a word which, in addition to its common meaning of 'limb', and hence, it seems, of 'part, section', has also a particular significance as a religious technical term for a 'limb' of the soul.⁴ The occurrence of this word in conjunction with various headings such as *Huwīdagmān* and *Warzargān Āfriwan* was therefore then held to unite what have since been identified as separate texts.

The other text published by Lentz, M 855, was not known to Reitzenstein. This fragment has on its verso page the title: *nys'r'd*

¹ Sic; see below, pp. 86 n. 1, 87 n. 1.

² Lentz also assigned T II D 178 II-IV to the fifth canto, naturally believing these fragments to form a continuous text with T II D 178 I. This is not, however, the case; see below, pp. 30-31, 35-36, 38-40.

³ See *Erl. Myst.*, p. 26. Reitzenstein made this suggestion because of the title on M 93 II: 'Sixth Limb—*Huwīdagmān*.'

⁴ See W.-L. i, p. 42 ff.

'*ngd rwšn'n*, 'Begun (is) *Angad Rōšnān*'. The first words beneath this are those of M 4 a 18-19, namely, '*ngd rwšn'n fry'ng pṭ'xšd*'. It was evident that this was the beginning of the whole cycle. The title on the recto page is damaged, but there too the words '*ngd rwšn'n*' appear. This misled Lentz into putting the pages into the wrong order. Thus in his publication the last verses of the cycle *Huwidagmān* (contained in M 855 R) appear as part of the first canto of *Angad Rōšnān*.

Lentz accepted Reitzenstein's theories about the structure of the *handām* texts; and also agreed that there was a connexion between them and M 4. In interpreting them, however, he differed entirely from his predecessor. The third edition of *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* had not then appeared, and he was therefore unaware of Reitzenstein's modification of his mythological interpretations. In any case he rejected these entirely. He dismissed the whole conception of a salvation-mystery as alien to Manichaeism;¹ and rejected also the idea that the hymns were connected with death. He maintained instead that they were liturgical texts for use in the confessional, supporting this theory by comparisons between them, the *Great Xwāstwānīst*, and a text from the Chinese *Hymnscroll*. According to him, the Soul in the hymn-cycles was not the World-Soul but that of an individual believer. He interpreted M 4 also as a confessional text; and suggested that in it is to be found 'ein Teil einer Sammlung kurzer Schlussgebete von Beichthymnen . . . die jedesmal in Verbindung mit den zugehörigen grossen Hymnen, die vom Priester rezitiert wurden, von der ganzen Gemeinde gesungen wurden'.²

Die Stellung Jesu appeared while the early part of the third edition of *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* was in the press; and Reitzenstein took the opportunity to comment on Lentz's views in the later part of this work.³ He welcomed his discoveries of the Sogdian material, but refused to accept his new interpretation of the texts, maintaining firmly his own beliefs.

Lentz in his discussion of the *handām* hymns mentioned the

¹ See W.-L. i, p. 69. Lentz was justified in this contention, but ignored the fact that Reitzenstein had himself been careful to limit the sense in which he used the word 'mystery' (see above, p. 3). Reitzenstein pointed this out when answering Lentz's criticisms (see *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, 3. Aufl., pp. 276-7).

² W.-L. i, p. 67.

³ pp. 275-84.

existence of many small fragments of manuscript, apparently containing verses from them, which he himself had not examined. It was clear that the way to a fuller understanding of the hymn-cycles lay through a study of these fragments, a task undertaken by W. B. Henning. In the course of several years of intermittent study Henning succeeded in piecing together a considerable number of fragments, and in acquiring thereby a clearer understanding of the general character of the texts. In 1943 he published a brief account of his findings in a note to Tsui Chi's translation of the Chinese *Hymnscroll*.¹ In this he showed that there were four distinct hymn-cycles in Middle Persian and Parthian, all of which appear to have been divided into cantos. In distinguishing between the two Parthian cycles he corrected the mistake over the order of the pages in M 855, publishing in evidence a partially preserved colophon to *Huwidagmān* from M 256, a fragment which, like M 855, contains the last lines of *Huwidagmān* on the recto page and the first lines of *Angad Rōšnān* on the verso.

The discovery of the existence of two distinct hymn-cycles in Parthian put the study of the *handām* texts on a new basis. Henning made yet another illuminating discovery in identifying vv. 262–338 of the Chinese *Hymnscroll* with the first canto of *Huwidagmān*. He published with a translation the fragments he had identified, using a normalized orthography. They were M 93 I, M 233, and M 625 b.

The Chinese title given to the verses from *Huwidagmān* is as follows (in Tsui Chi's translation):

'In praise of the World of Light. Containing seventy-eight Odes, each of which is in four lines. By Wei Mo the Mu-shê.'²

Henning suggested tentatively that *wei* (未) might be a mistake for *mo* (末), in which case **Muât-Mâu* might represent Mār Ammō, the name of Mani's great apostle to the Parthians. If this is so, a comparatively precise date for the hymn-cycles can be established.³

Henning made two brief references to Mār Ammō's authorship of the hymn-cycles in subsequent articles entitled 'Bráhmaṇ'⁴ and 'Two Manichaeian Magical Texts'.⁵ In the former article he also published, to illustrate the meaning of a word, three verses

¹ *BSOAS*. xi, pp. 216–17.

³ This matter is discussed again below; see p. 43.

⁴ *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1944, p. 113.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 199.

⁵ *BSOAS*. xii, p. 50.

from the seventh canto of *Angad Rōšnān*. This completed his published work on the hymn-cycles. His textual reconstructions are fully described below.¹

II. THE SUBJECT-MATTER OF THE HYMN-CYCLES

Angad Rōšnān begins with a soul in distress, for whom 'the hour of life is ended'.² Fire and fog daunt it,³ and hideous demons,⁴ and it beseeches its Saviour for redemption.⁵ Life ebbs from its body,⁶ and its distress deepens; it no longer invokes the Saviour confidently, but asks in despair 'Who shall save me?'⁷ For five cantos—as far as can be judged from the surviving fragments—the soul remains lonely, terrified, and weeping. In the sixth the Saviour comes with loving words. The demons slink away,⁸ and the soul is promised salvation,⁹ and adjured to be steadfast and happy on 'this day of death'.¹⁰ In the last extant verses from the eighth canto the soul tells how, rescued from all sins¹¹ and clothed in a garment of Light,¹² it has looked upon the dark prison of the body it has abandoned.¹³ *Huwīdagmān* follows the same pattern closely, the chief difference in its extant verses being that it opens with a canto describing Paradise, which is followed by a canto entitled 'The Punishment of Sinners'. The situation at the end of the fourth canto is that found at the beginning of *Angad Rōšnān*—namely a soul distressed by encircling horrors and yearning for a Saviour. Here too the Saviour appears in the sixth canto and brings the soul comfort and the promise of redemption.

Reitzenstein, influenced by the recurrence of a theme of dissolution, interpreted the hymn-cycles as a death-mass;¹⁴ and his theory receives support from the subsequent discovery of passages in which death is explicitly mentioned. A comparison is therefore

¹ See pp. 25–33.

² *A.R.* I 12.

³ *Ibid.* 14.

⁴ *Ibid.* 16–18.

⁵ *Ibid.* 1–2.

⁶ *A.R.* Ia 11–14.

⁷ *A.R.* III 1 ff.

⁸ *A.R.* VI 3–5.

⁹ *Ibid.* 31–33, 42–45, 49, 64–73.

¹⁰ *A.R.* VIIa 11.

¹¹ *A.R.* VIII 2.

¹² *Ibid.* 4.

¹³ *Ibid.* 12.

¹⁴ He also used as evidence for this two of the sections in M 4 (see above, p. 2). In rejecting his interpretation, Lentz pointed out that it was natural for the Manichaeans to be concerned with death and the end of the world, both events representing the salvation of Light (see W.-L. i, p. 69). Yet although Mani's teachings made holy dying the goal of his followers, holy living was an essential preliminary; and many Manichaean texts contain precepts for conducting life well. The hymn-cycles are characterized, however, as Reitzenstein saw, by indifference to life and a sustained preoccupation with death.

necessary between the hymn-cycles and Manichaean funerary literature.

Elegiac poetry, in memory of Mani and other religious leaders, is well attested in Parthian, where it takes the form of an account of the saint's death, or an invocation of him by surviving members of his flock;¹ but funerary hymns, for use at the time of death itself, are barely represented. There is, however, a useful collection in M 4 of the opening lines of such hymns, entitled 'Death-Hymns' ('*zg'myg b's'h'n*'). These hymns were presumably intended for the funerals of the Elect, for it is assumed in them that the dead man is perfect in virtue, and will ascend to heaven.² Two characteristics are common to them all: each is dramatic in form, being in direct speech; and in each the speaker is the soul, which has just left the body,³ and is sometimes joyful, sometimes in distress.

The key to the interpretation of these hymns is given by Ibn an-Nadīm in the *Fihrist*, in a passage translated by Flügel as follows:

Wenn der Tod . . . einem Wahrhaftigen naht, sendet der Urmensch einen Lichtgott in der Gestalt des leitenden Weisen und mit ihm drei Götter und zugleich mit diesen das Wassergefäß,⁴ das Kleid, die Kopfbinde, die Krone und den Lichtkranz. . . . Auch erscheint ihm der Teufel der Habgier und der Sinnenlust mit andern Teufeln. Sobald der Wahrhaftige diese erblickt, ruft er die Göttin, welche die Gestalt des Weisen angenommen hat und die andern drei Götter zu Hilfe, und diese nähern sich ihm. Sobald die Teufel sie gewahr werden, wenden sie sich fliehend um.⁵

The hymns in M 4 show the virtuous soul either fearful or hailing with joy the approach of the Saviour. In each the same moment has been chosen, the moment when the soul, freed from the body, awaits its fate after death.

Some of the sections in M 4 are peculiar to that fragment; and one might think these dramatic funerary hymns unusual compositions, had not a similar collection of texts, preserved in their entirety, been found in the Coptic *Psalm-Book*. This collection

¹ See *Mir. Man.* iii, d-f.

² Thus the dead man confidently invokes the Saviour with his three angels (M 4 c 10-13) and expects his help (*ibid.* 16-18). The Saviour is gracious to him (*ibid.* 1-3).

³ This is stated explicitly in M 4 b 22-c 1 and c 7-10. In the other lines it is implied.

⁴ For 'Wassergefäß' read 'Sieg' (see Polotsky in *Mani-Fund*, p. 72).

⁵ Flügel, *Mani*, p. 100; *Fihrist*, text, p. 335, ll. 10-14; see W.-L. i, p. 62.

consists of the *Psalms to Jesus*,¹ the first group of the *Psalms of Heracleides*,² and some miscellaneous psalms following these two groups.³ All are apparently intended, like the Parthian hymns, for use at the funerals of the Elect; and by far the greater number are cast in the same dramatic form, being spoken by the soul of the dead monk or nun.⁴ In them too it is made plain that the soul has already left the body, 'the abode of Darkness that is full of fear'.⁵ The 'hour of going forth from the body'⁶ is almost invariably represented as one of terror and distress, the time 'of the great trouble',⁷ the 'hour of need'.⁸ The soul, struggling to bear up 'beneath the alarm of death',⁹ seeks help desperately from the foes around it—'a merciless crowd like vultures'.¹⁰ The seven demons are spoken of repeatedly;¹¹ and the soul appeals also from wild beasts,¹² traps,¹³ and the powers of heaven and earth, seeking to submerge it.¹⁴ These appeals are never in vain. The Saviour comes, bringing comfort and protection.¹⁵ 'The seven fearful demons' leave the soul, 'their foul hands also empty of (its) blood';¹⁶ it utters praises to its redeemer,¹⁷ and having received the symbols of victory ascends to Paradise, there to become 'divine again even as (it) was'.¹⁸

The resemblance is striking between these psalms and those represented in M 4; and since the two groups of texts are the products of communities so geographically remote as the Parthian and Coptic Churches, it is safe to assume that they represent a common pattern of funeral hymn, originating in the earliest days of Manichaeism. This assumption is supported by the fact that there are marked similarities between these hymns and those of Mandaeism, a religion which appears to have developed in the same area as Manichaeism, and to have shared with it some of the

¹ See C. R. C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, ii, pp. 49-97.

² Ibid. 97-108.

³ Ibid. 111-13.

⁴ There are exceptions. In Psalms cclviii and cclxxix the living address the soul; Psalm ccliv celebrates the triumphant virtue of Mani himself, and Psalm cclxv is largely hortatory. Psalm ccl may be meant for the dying rather than the dead. These constitute a handful of exceptions to the general type.

⁵ *Ps. Bk.*, 55²⁰.

⁶ Ibid. 66¹⁹⁻²⁰.

⁷ Ibid. 49⁸.

⁸ Ibid. 49⁶⁻⁷, 84⁹⁻¹⁰, 93¹⁻².

⁹ Ibid. 62⁹.

¹⁰ Ibid. 61²³. (G. Widengren has quoted this passage, and others from funerary psalms, but without seeking to elucidate the context. See his *Mesopotamian Elements in Manichaeism*, p. 55.)

¹¹ e.g. ibid. 84²¹⁻²², 108¹⁷⁻²⁹.

¹² Ibid. 66²¹.

¹³ Ibid. 69²⁴.

¹⁴ Ibid. 51²⁴⁻²⁵.

¹⁵ e.g. ibid. 50¹⁸⁻²⁰, 53²¹⁻²⁶, 93²⁵.

¹⁶ Ibid. 103³⁰.

¹⁷ e.g. ibid. 107²⁶⁻²⁷.

¹⁸ Ibid. 58²⁸.

same formative influences.¹ Considerable collections of Mandaean funeral texts have survived,² some of which have already been considered by Reitzenstein in connexion with the Parthian material.³ The texts are more varied in character than the surviving Manichaean ones, and their use is not always restricted to the celebration of death alone.⁴ Those which most closely resemble the Manichaean begin when the soul has already left the body, and is waiting in loneliness and fear for a redeemer to lead it to Paradise.⁵ The majority share two important characteristics with the Manichaean hymns: they are dramatic in form, being attributed largely to the soul; and their dominant theme is the ascent of the soul to Paradise after it leaves the body.

The ascent of the soul after death held a place of paramount importance in the older gnostic religions,⁶ in which it was enacted ritually both for the preparation of the living and the furtherance of the dead. From what has survived of their liturgical writings it appears that in these religions the ascent was an ordeal to be surmounted only by the initiate dead; the seven malignant planets barred the soul's upward path, and could be rendered powerless only by a set form of words. If this trial by knowledge were surmounted, a test of virtue followed; but virtue without esoteric knowledge was useless.⁷ The ascent of the soul is similarly represented as an ordeal in a number of the Mandaean *masqātā*,⁸

¹ A brief reference to this similarity has been made recently by T. Säv-Söderbergh in his *Studies in the Coptic Manichaean Psalm-Book*. This work is devoted almost entirely to the 'Psalms of Thomas', which are believed by Prof. Polotsky to be Mandaean writings incorporated in the *Psalm-Book*, and not therefore relevant to our consideration of Manichaean funeral literature. Of the *Psalms to Jesus* the author says that they 'were in all probability used at a cultic ceremony corresponding to the Mandaean death mass' (op cit., p. 86).

² The chief collections are in the *Left Ginza* and the second section of the *Qolastā*.

³ See *Erl. Myst.*, ch. ii.

⁴ See, for example, the instructions to officiating priests, Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, p. 505; *Qolastā*, pp. 69, 110. For the varied use of the *masqātā* today see E. S. Drower, *The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran*, index s.v.

⁵ See, for example, Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, pp. 516-34, 538-47, 564-6.

⁶ It has been contended that this doctrine of the ascent was both the central point of Gnosticism and the common factor of its many sects; see W. Anz, *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung des Gnostizismus*, pp. 1-58.

⁷ It is expressly said in the *Pistis Sophia* that a virtuous man cannot attain heaven without a knowledge of the mysteries (ch. 103; see C. Schmidt's translation, 2nd ed., p. 192, ll. 23-29); whereas a sinful man can be rescued from the damnation he deserves if a mystery be said for him after death (ch. 108; Schmidt, pp. 201-2).

⁸ e.g. Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, pp. 444-52, 479-82, 578-82.

whose recitation was likewise regarded as itself aiding the soul's passage.¹ The Manichaean funeral literature represents a different system of belief, according to which gnosis had to bear fruit within this life. Virtue, it was taught by Mani, depended on an understanding of the principles of Light and Darkness; but this understanding, although it saved the enlightened from sin, could not compensate, before or after death, for sin committed. Good actions, not words, secured a passage heavenwards for the soul:

They wait not for a defence, to teach how to answer, on this day,
but he that has a good deed, let him put his trust in his deeds.²

The ascent was not, therefore, an ordeal, but a triumph, which no living man could help or hinder. The Manichaean funeral hymns could not, accordingly, be regarded as potent in themselves to help the dead.

Doctrinal differences have not, however, affected the formal likeness of the Manichaean funeral literature to the Mandaean; nor have they abolished from it vestiges of what are still realities in the Mandaean liturgy—the enemies that flock round even the virtuous soul, and the watchposts of the hostile planets along its heavenward way.³

A dramatic form is found also in the two Parthian hymn-cycles. The similarities in form and content between them and the short funeral psalms are immediately evident. Dissimilarities exist also, some of which may be attributed merely to the difference in scale of the works. The most striking of them, however, is a divergence in attitude toward the soul. In the majority of the funeral psalms the souls are treated as ethical entities, conscious of the existence they have just left and of their moral achievements within it, and still attached to their 'brethren' and 'parents of the flesh' whom they exhort not to mourn.⁴ In the *handām* texts the soul is an innocent and passive member of the exiled Light, and humanity is overwhelmed by an impersonal grandeur. Youth and age, family and friends have no place there. The soul is 'out of humanity's reach, and must finish (its) journey alone' amid the falling of worlds and shattering of nature's laws.

The contrast is sufficiently marked to appear at first a counterpoise to the many resemblances between the two sets of texts. Yet

¹ See W. Brandt, *Mandäische Religion*, p. 82; Anz, op. cit., p. 73, n. 1.

² *Ps. Bk.*, 81²⁸⁻³⁰.

³ See below, p. 97 v. 6 with n. 1.

⁴ See, for example, *Ps. Bk.* 88¹⁶⁻¹⁷; 58¹⁶⁻¹⁸.

there is one Coptic psalm in which a similar treatment of the soul is maintained throughout.¹ This psalm is so important for comparison with the hymn-cycles that it is quoted here in full:

Come to me, my kinsman, the Light, my guide.

... my soul, bear up: thou hast thy Saviour:

thy defence is Christ, for he will receive thee into his Kingdom.

Since I went forth into the darkness I was given a water to drink which

... me. I bear up beneath a burden which is not my own.

I am in the midst of my enemies, the beasts surrounding me;

the burden which I bear is of the powers and principalities.

They burned (?) in their wrath, they rose up against me, they ran to ... me, like sheep that have no shepherd.

Matter and her sons divided me up amongst them, they

burnt (?) me in their fire, they gave me a bitter likeness.

The strangers with whom I mixed, me they know

not; they tasted my sweetness, they desired to keep me with them.

I was life to them, but they were death to

me; I bore up beneath them, they wore me as a garment upon them.

I am in everything, I bear the skies, I am the foundation, I support the earths, I am the Light that shines forth, that gives joy to souls.

I am the life of the world: I am the milk that is in all

trees: I am the sweet water that is beneath the sons of Matter.

... I went forth to the ...

... the Aeons ... they sent me forth to the ...

I bore these things until I had fulfilled the will of my Father;

the First Man is my father whose will I have carried out.

Lo, the Darkness I have subdued; lo, the fire of the fountains I have extinguished it, as the Sphere turns hurrying round, as the sun receives

the refined part of life.

O soul, raise thy eyes to the height and contemplate thy bond ...

... thou hast reached it; lo, thy Fathers are calling thee.

Now go aboard the Ships of Light and receive thy garland of glory and return to thy kingdom and rejoice with all the Aeons.

Glory and honour to our Lord Mani and his

holy Elect and the soul of the blessed Mary.²

¹ Psalm ccxlvi.

² *Ps. Bk.* 54-55.

The first few lines and the last of this psalm suggest that it was composed for the death of one of the Elect. It follows the pattern of the other funerary texts, beginning with an appeal to the Saviour, and ending with the soul's ascent in triumph. But the body of the psalm is not devoted to the dead man's life and virtues: his little existence is merged instead into that of Light as a whole. Since the world began, the Light which makes up his soul has been exiled from its home, suffering amid matter; at its release through death, it rejoices. The treatment is impressive. The psalm does not evoke the human sympathies touched by some of the others; but by dissolving the bonds of personal existence, it awakes a sense of awe and humility before the greatness of the divine struggle.

This short work gives a key to the understanding of the extensive hymn-cycles, in which the treatment of the soul appears to be the same. This treatment involves necessarily the conception of 'the saved Saviour'. The god addresses the soul both as his redeemer and the one he has come to redeem.¹ A few similar passages occur in the Coptic psalms.²

We know little as yet of Manichaean ritual, and to speculate about the liturgical use of the hymns is largely unprofitable. It is known from the *Hymnscroll* that the first canto of *Huwīdagmān* was sometimes detached from the rest of the cycle, and that its first verse was used in congregation as a response.³ This canto is complete in itself, however, and being unusually joyous must have lent itself to general and independent use. There is a possibility that the hymn-cycles, like the Mandaean *masqātā*, were used for other liturgical purposes as well as the celebration of death; but there is no evidence for this, or for Reitzenstein's attractive theory that they consisted of twelve cantos, one for each hour of the day of celebration. All that can be said with probability is that they were primarily intended for the funeral-services of the Elect, whose deaths were thereby celebrated in a manner which was partly symbolic, so that they typified also the final redemption of Light.

The relationship between the hymn-cycle *Angad Rōšnān* and the *angad rōšnānī* hymns of M 4 remains regrettably obscure. Further

¹ See, for example, *A.R.* VI 9, 21, 56 (the soul as redeemer); and *ibid.* 31-33, 43-45 (the god as redeemer). The alternation led both Reitzenstein and Lentz to suppose the words of the god a dialogue.

² e.g. *Ps. Bk.* 75⁵, 86²⁷, 87¹⁸⁻²⁴. (In the last passage, l. 20, Prof. Polotsky emends the translation to 'The Father, the King of the crowns—I left him, [I] being pure from . . .').

³ See *BSOAS.* xi, p. 209, vv. 351-2.

evidence seems necessary before this can be decided, or M 4 interpreted as a whole.

III. THE GOAL OF THE DEPARTED SPIRIT AND THE IDENTITY OF THE SAVIOUR

As funeral texts the hymn-cycles are concerned with the fate of the righteous dead; and if they were wholly preserved, they would doubtless furnish a full exposition of Manichaean doctrine on it. Even as they are, they provide some useful evidence for an obscure point, namely the immediate goal of the departed spirit. This is a matter which has created some conflict of opinion among scholars. Jackson in his monograph on the fate of the soul¹ assumed—ignoring any other possibility—that the soul went straight to the Eternal Paradise; and to this Waldschmidt and Lentz gave their considered assent:

Das 'ewige Lichtreich' ist das Ziel der individuellen Erlösung. Im Gegensatz dazu steht das 'neue Lichtreich'. . . Dies ist ein Wohnsitz der kosmogonischen Götter.²

Polotsky, however, stated that the soul went after death to the New Paradise.³ That the matter was one of some complexity even for Manichaeans is shown by a question about it which survives in a Sogdian fragment.⁴ This runs as follows:

[The seventy-first] question thus: 'When a second time they will have been created afresh in perfection by the Great King, then in which land will their kingship secondly be? Will it be in the Real Paradise together with the Great King, or in the New Paradise?'

Unfortunately only the preliminaries of the answer survive; and the problem has therefore to be decided on other evidence.

The New Paradise, created by the Great Builder,⁵ was made

¹ A. V. W. Jackson, 'A Sketch of the Manichaean Doctrine concerning the Future Life', *J.AOS.*, vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 177-98.

² W.-L. ii, p. 530 n. to 147 d.

³ *Abriss*, p. 261.

⁴ M 591. I owe this reference to the kindness of Dr. Gershevitch. For the reading and translation given here I am indebted to Prof. Henning. The text is as follows:

R (1) oo (oo) [XX XX XX XI myq] (2) wprw w'nw kt c'nw (c)[n] (3) mzyx 'xšywnyy ptnwyy (4) δβtyk prw 'spty'q (5) sfrytyt wβ'nd o pts'r (6) š(n) 'xš'wn δβtyq prw (7) kt'm z'y βwtk'm o (8) 'stnyy wštm'xy mzyx (9) 'xšywnyy o pry(w) βwt k'(m) (10) qt'r nwyw wštm'xy (11) oo oo.

⁵ See *Mir. Man.* i, pp. 184-5, and p. 184, n. 1 with references.

from the Eternal Paradise, to which it is to be restored at the end of the world.¹ It shares therefore the nature of the Eternal Paradise, with which it is consubstantial. In its separate existence only is it temporary; and its inhabitants, who will return with it at the end to the Paradise of Light, may be said already to enjoy in it the sweetness of eternal life.²

The function of the New Paradise most clearly stated is that of a resting-place for the redeeming gods, who are banished from the Eternal Paradise during their struggle to recover the lost Light. The purpose of this banishment is to secure the unbroken peace of the World of Light. At the end of the world the redeeming gods retire to the New Paradise together with its king, the First Man,³ and rest there with their attendant divinities and the last particles of rescued Light.⁴ Thereafter they return to the Eternal Paradise, and once more behold the Father of Greatness.⁵

In several places it is stated that the Light which remains imprisoned until the end of the world will ascend as the 'Last Man' to the New Paradise, and go thence by the side of the 'First Man' into the presence of the Father.⁶ The problem is whether this was the course travelled by all particles of redeemed Light, or whether the souls rescued before *frašēgird* returned directly to the Eternal Kingdom.

In Parthian and Middle Persian the New Paradise is called *whyšt rwšn*, *nwg* (*nw'g*) *šhr* and *nwg* (*nw'g*) *šhr'n*.⁷ There are a number of references to it as the goal of the dead, of which the following will suffice as examples:

I reverence you, O God; forgive my sins, save my soul, lead it up to the New Paradise!⁸

'The souls will go to the Light, they will put on the body of the Father. They will be in glory within the New Aeon for ever and ever.'⁹

¹ See *Mir. Man.* iii, a 85-90.

² See *Hymnscroll* 143a (W.-L. ii, p. 488).

³ See Polotsky, *Man. Homilien*, p. 41¹⁸⁻²⁰ and n. b.

⁴ See *Mir. Man.* iii, a 2-15; *Keph.* xxxix (p. 103²⁻¹⁰).

⁵ See *Mir. Man.* iii, p. 853 a 140-3 and n. 5 with references.

⁶ See *ibid.* p. 852 a 100-2 and n. 3 with references.

⁷ That the term *nwg šhr* sometimes embodies a conception of the New Paradise as the New Aeon, existing in time rather than space, is due to the dual meaning of the word (Syr. *'ālmā*) rendered by *šhr*; see Polotsky, 'Manichäische Studien', *Le Muséon*, xlv, pp. 259-60. For the plural form *šhr'n* see *Mir. Man.* iii, p. 885, n. 2.

⁸ *BBB.*, p. 21, ll. 94-97.

⁹ *M* 285, ll. 88-92 (an unpublished Parthian text). The original is as follows:

Sometimes the destination itself is vaguely named, but mention of the First Man (Ōhrmizd) makes it clear which Paradise is intended:

'Then shall you receive, at the end, helm, garland and diadem from the god Ōhrmizd, the Father, within the Paradise of Light. There shall you rejoice and prosper for ever, (and) be happy in gladness.'¹

The Coptic texts contain a good deal of material about the fate of the soul, but not much explicitly concerning the New Paradise. In one of the 'Psalms of the Bema' the soul is promised salvation within 'its kingdom', where

Thy Father, the First Man, will give thee thy life (?) . . . who (?) . . . to give it since thy beginning; the divine envoy of Truth will give thee the diadem of Light; . . . will give thee thy garland of renown.²

The psalm comes to an end almost upon these words, the soul being left in bliss with the First Man. A fuller statement of the doctrine of redemption in the New Paradise is contained in one of the 'Psalms of Heracleides',³ whose subject is the return of the First Man to Paradise after the triumph of the Light. In it the psalmist creates what is evidently a conscious parallel between this return, constituting the ultimate victory of the First Man, and the original re-entry of the First Man into Paradise after his encounter with the powers of Darkness.⁴ On the earlier occasion the Spiritus Vivens had been sent as Envoy to summon the First Man back to consciousness, and had been asked by him:

Comment vont nos pères, les fils de la lumière, dans leur cité?⁵

and had answered 'Ils vont bien'. In the Coptic psalm an Envoy is sent in the same way to summon the First Man at the end of the world. He knocks at the gates of his dwelling-place and rouses him,

šwyynd gy'n n'w rwsn oo tnb'r cy pydr pdmwynd oo n'zynd 'ndr nw'g šhr 'w y'wyd y'wyd'n.

¹ *Mir. Man.* ii, p. 333⁴⁻⁸.

² *Ps. Bk.* 22¹⁶⁻¹⁹.

³ *Ibid.* 197-202.

⁴ The parallel is so closely worked out that Widengren has been deceived into thinking that the psalm refers in fact to the first scene in the battle of redemption, instead of the last. See his *Mesopotamian Elements in Manichaeism*, pp. 74-76. That this is not the case is shown by the interchanges between the Envoy and the First Man; see, for example, p. 201, ll. 17-18:

'The Light is set over the king of the Darkness: his host is bound, it is fettered. Take the news.'

⁵ See Theodor bar Konai, *apud* Cumont, *Recherches*, i, p. 24.

to be greeted with the same questions that were asked in the beginning:

What does my Father do, the Father of the Lights? . . .
outside him. Tell me the news.

What do the twelve Aeons do, whom I left surrounding
the Father? Tell [me] the news.¹

The Envoy answers that all is well in Paradise, 'the Gods rejoicing'² at the victory gained; and summons the First Man to return there, accompanied by his 'garlanded host'.³ This host is evidently the assembly of victorious souls in the New Paradise, who are also spoken of as the 'merchandise' of the First Man, recovered by him from the powers of Darkness:

The Fathers of Light came that they might help their loved
one. Take the news.

They helped the First Man, he cried before him
in joy: 'Behold me, behold my merchandise'. Lo.

Great is the joy that there was, the First Man being
in their midst, laden with garlands and palms. Lo, this is the news.⁴

In the final verses the psalmist speaks in his own person, making clear the parable to his hearers:

May it happen to us together that we may be counted in his
merchandise and rejoice with all the Aeons. Lo, this is the news.
May we be counted among those of the right hand and inherit our
kingdom. Lo, this is the news.

And may we live with our kinsmen from everlasting to everlasting.
Lo, this is the news.⁵

The belief expressed here is that the First Man gathers the redeemed in the New Paradise during the centuries, until he has won back all, or almost all, that he had lost, and can bear them with him to the Eternal Paradise in a celestial triumph.

These texts, Coptic and Iranian, establish a Manichaean doctrine of immediate redemption in the New Paradise, followed by ultimate union with the Paradise of Light. Yet such texts, although clear in the evidence they yield, are few in number. By far the most references to the destination of the soul are in ambiguous, general terms such as 'the land of the gods', 'the city of the blessed'. This is the case, not only in hymns of a general character,

¹ *Ps. Bk.* 198²³⁻²⁶.

² *Ibid.* 199¹⁰.

³ *Ibid.* 201⁷⁻⁸.

⁴ *Ibid.* 202¹²⁻¹⁷.

⁵ *Ibid.* 202¹⁸⁻²³.

but also in texts of some doctrinal precision, as for example the Middle Persian S 9, where the salvation of a believer is described in the following terms:

He put off the body of death and was for ever saved,
and he ascended into Paradise, into that land of the blessed.¹

What complicates matters still more is that some texts not only do not particularize the New Paradise as the destination of redeemed souls, but actually make it clear that the Eternal Paradise is meant. Thus the Chinese texts studied by Waldschmidt and Lentz distinguish in terminology between the two Paradises; and in more than one case the terms for the Eternal Paradise are there used to indicate the goal of the returning souls.² The following lines from an unpublished Parthian hymn have the same decisiveness:

Lay hold upon salvation and freedom from hurt. They prepare for you a tabernacle of the spirit. Enter into the kingdom before the Father of Greatness, and in his presence become endued with your own piety, stillness and purity.³

The mention of the Father of Greatness makes it clear that 'the kingdom' here means the Eternal Paradise. One of the Coptic funeral psalms yields a similar passage. In it the 'garlanded soul' having been ferried from moon to sun, enters into Paradise and is in the presence of the 'Father of the Lights'.⁴

There seems thus a contradiction in the Manichaean texts themselves. It is likely, however, that it is only apparent, not real. The existence of a doctrine of immediate redemption in the New Paradise is clearly attested, harmonizes admirably with other of Mani's teachings, and is unlikely to be a later development. It adds, however, a complexity to an already complex scheme; and postpones the moment of entry into the presence of the Father. Poetic licence seems to allow, therefore, that the distinction which it involves should in many texts be glossed over or ignored; and that occasionally the gulf of time and space should be surpassed,

¹ S 9, verse 12 (text given by Henning, *N.G.G.W.*, 1932, p. 228).

² e.g. *Hymnscroll* 147 d, 399.

³ T II D 138 37-46. The text is as follows:

[bw]xtgyft u 'n'z'ryft ['](w) dst 'st'nyd (o t)lw'r
w'c'fryyd 'w 'šm'h pdr'ynd 'dhyd (sic) 'w
šhrd'ryft prw'n pydr wzrgyft 'wš bw(yd) 'ndym'n
pd wxybyh [dy]ncyhryft 'ngwn [u pw](')gyft o

⁴ *Ps. Bk.* 85¹³⁻¹⁵.

the souls of the saved being imagined as standing now where they will ultimately be, in the presence of the Father himself. Presumably even in such cases it is not so much that the doctrine of redemption in the New Paradise is opposed to that of redemption in the Eternal Paradise as that it is swallowed up in the latter conception.

If we look beyond the Manichaean texts to the works of non-Manichaean writers, we find that the doctrine of the New Paradise is ignored by the polemicists, as a *minutia* of dogma containing no matter for mockery. It has a place, however, in the writings of the more detached Ibn an-Nadīm. There are two passages in the *Fihrist* in which Ibn an-Nadīm describes the soul's journey heavenward. The first occurs in his initial brief summary of Mani's teaching.¹ Here he states simply that the souls ascend by the Column of Glory to the moon, that the moon gives them to the sun, and that the sun transfers them to the 'World of Praise', where they go to 'the highest, pure Light'. The expression الى التور must refer to the heart of the Eternal Paradise itself; and it seems that in this epitome Ibn an-Nadīm was content to ignore the existence of the New Paradise. The second passage,² contained in the chapter upon the fates of men, is more detailed. According to it, the virtuous soul is approached upon death by a god with three supporting divinities who set upon it crown and diadem and garment,

وعرجوا به في عمود السّبح الى فلك القمر والى الانسان القديم والى التّهنة ام
الاحياء الى ما كان عليه اولاً في جنان التّور

This passage runs as follows in Flügel's translation:

... und steigen mit ihm auf der Säule des Lobpreises zu der Sphäre des Mondes, zu dem Urmenschen und zu der Nahnaha der Mutter der Lebendigen bis zu dem Zustand, in dem er zuerst in den Paradiesen des Lichts war.³

This account is at variance with other descriptions of the soul's heavenward journey, as Flügel pointed out: 'Die Stationen der Seele sind hier theilweise auf noch unbekannte Art bezeichnet.'⁴ The anomaly lies in the mention of the First Man and the Mother of the Living as representing some station or stations on the path

¹ *Fihrist*, p. 330²²⁻²⁶; Flügel, *Mani*, text, p. 57, transl. p. 90.

² *Fihrist*, p. 335¹⁵⁻¹⁶; *Mani*, text, p. 70. ³ *Mani*, p. 100. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 341.

of the soul's ascent. Both these gods have thrones in two distinct places. Firstly, they are enthroned in the moon and sun respectively; but the moon having already been mentioned by name, the gods can hardly represent these places here.¹ Secondly, they both have thrones, as redeeming gods, in the New Paradise. The First Man is the ruler of this realm, and therefore its natural representative. The Mother is closely associated in mythology with her 'son' (as is shown by her Middle Persian name 'Mother-of-the-god-Öhrmizd', *'whrmyzdby m'd*). She is regarded, moreover, as 'mother' of all the redeeming gods who inhabit the New Paradise.² It is fitting, therefore, that she should be beside the First Man in the New Paradise, as the Great Spirit is beside the Father in the Eternal Kingdom.³ It is thus probable that in this context the First Man and the Mother together represent the New Paradise.

Ibn an-Nadīm's second account is thus orthodox, except for the omission of any mention of the sun. This omission is found elsewhere,⁴ and is understandable: the sun only carried farther the process of purification begun in the moon, and the visible waxing and waning of the latter made it of more significance as a symbol to watchers upon earth. With this omission excepted, the progression given by him here, namely Column of Glory—moon—New Paradise—Eternal Paradise, accords exactly with what we have seen to be the Manichaean doctrine in its fullness.

Some details of the soul's ascent are given in the sixth cantos both of *Huwidagmān* and *Angad Rōšnān*. The account in the former is slightly the fuller. In it the god promises to rescue the soul from its foes and to lead it up to 'the kingdom' (*hw šhr*)⁵ where he will show it its Fathers. After an unfortunate gap in the text this kingdom is further described as 'a vast and lofty fortress' raised by divine evocation,⁶ 'the palace of the primeval First-Born',⁷ wherein he puts on the garment of happiness,⁸ and bestows garlands upon all his comrades⁹ and upon the Elect.¹⁰ The only realm divinely created is the New Paradise (for the Eternal Paradise is

¹ Cf., e.g., *Ps. Bk.* 85⁴⁻¹², where the moon and sun are, it seems, referred to as the ships of the First Man and Third Messenger, but are not otherwise directly named.

² See *Ps. Bk.* 1²²⁻²³.

³ These two female divinities, the Mother of the Living and the Great Spirit, are sometimes confounded; see Polotsky in *Mani-Fund*, p. 66; *Abriß*, p. 249.

⁴ See, e.g., Turbo's account of the soul's ascent, *Acta Archelai*, 13¹⁰⁻¹¹; cited by Flügel, *Mani*, p. 344.

⁵ *H. VIc* 2a.

⁶ *Ibid.* 10 (lit. 'by a spiritual mouth').

⁷ *Ibid.* 11a.

⁸ *Ibid.* 11b.

⁹ *Ibid.* 12a.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 13.

terra ingenita, coexistent with the Father of Light himself); and one may compare this description of it with that in the Coptic psalm quoted above, where it is pictured as a 'tower'¹ with defensive gates.² The 'primeval First-Born' (*nwxz'd hsyng*) is evidently the First Man (elsewhere *mrđwhm hsyng*) who rules the New Paradise, and is several times spoken of as there bestowing garlands upon victorious souls.³ A further gap of five verses follows this description, and the subsequent verses bring us to the defeat of the (Dark) Powers,⁴ and

... the day when He will reveal (His) form,
[the] beneficent [Father], the Lord of the Aeons of Light.⁵

The Father shows himself only when all Light is redeemed, and the gods are once more in his presence. Here again, therefore, the soul's return to the Eternal Kingdom follows after a sojourn with the First Man in the New Paradise.

The surviving cantos of *Angad Rōšnān* contain much immediate solace for the soul, but less prophecy about its future. The god promises to open before it the gates in the heavens,⁶ and to lead it to its home, 'the blessed place'.⁷ There he will show it the 'noble Father'⁸ and the 'Mother of the Beings of Light',⁹ and also all the holy brethren,¹⁰ with whom the soul shall dwell in happiness for ever. With this the canto ends, and later fragments do not amplify its account. It is apparent, however, that it contains a promise of salvation in the New Paradise. The 'noble Father' to whom the soul is led could, as far as the words themselves go, be either the First Man or the Father of Greatness; but the supreme deity, being hidden in his own light until he chooses to reveal himself, cannot be shown to the redeemed by one of his own emanations. The 'noble Father' must, therefore, be here the First Man; and this identification is supported by the mention in the next verse of his 'Mother', the Mother of the Living (here *rwšn'n m'd*).¹¹ It is interesting to find the New Paradise here represented by the same pair of divinities as are named by Ibn an-Nadīm in his account. Both the hymn-cycles thus present the Manichaean doctrine in its rigour.

¹ *Ps. Bk.* 198¹³.

² *Ibid.* 197^{22, 24}, 198¹¹⁻¹².

³ See, e.g., *Mir. Man.* ii, 333⁴⁻⁸; *Ps. Bk.* 22¹⁶⁻¹⁹.

⁴ *H. VIc* 20b.

⁵ *Ibid.* 21.

⁶ *A.R. VI* 66a.

⁷ *Ibid.* 67b.

⁸ *Ibid.* 68a.

⁹ *Ibid.* 69a.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 70a.

¹¹ This deity appears under various names in Parthian: *m'd*, *m'd jywndg*, and *rd'w'n m'd* are also recorded.

The leader to Paradise¹ is called in the *Fihrist* 'the guiding Sage',² and in the *Hymnscroll* 'the Master of Doctrine',³ both titles which may well indicate the Nous. This deity is so closely connected with the Manichaean Church that he can be identified with its personification (M. Pers. *farrah-i dēn*, Turkish *nom qutī*),⁴ which in two other texts is said to bestow the Victory on the righteous soul.⁵ In *Kephalaia* VII the god is called 'the Figure of Light', and should be either Mani or his contemporary successor.⁶ In the Parthian M 4 it is Mani who is invoked with the three angels;⁷ and he meets the soul in one of the Coptic psalms.⁸ In most of these, however, the guide is Jesus.

There are thus three figures named in the role of Saviour—the Nous, Mani, and Jesus. In the *handām* texts the deity is not named, but is referred to only in general terms, such as 'friend', 'lord', 'sovereign', 'envoy', 'saviour'. The omission of a name may be deliberate, so that the Saviour can represent all redeeming gods; or it may be due to the chance of survival. Whatever the reason, the god remains anonymous.

IV. THE MANUSCRIPTS

The hymn-cycles exist in fragments from many manuscripts. Some of these were works of art, elegantly written upon large pages; some were small, their verses written in a cramped hand; and most were of average size, in clear and pleasant scripts. Varied as was their original character, all have been reduced to a uniformly fragmentary state. Of their hundreds of sheets, five only survive intact. The rest are represented by fragments containing from half a line to half a page of text.

The text of the hymn-cycles is invariably set out in verses, with a space between them. The verses are in two lines,⁹ each with a caesura in the middle, which is marked sometimes by one dot,

¹ Some accounts of death omit this deity. The soul instead goes by itself into the presence of a judge, and there receives the three trophies. Yet other accounts confuse the two versions. For an explanation of this see Polotsky in *Mani-Fund*, pp. 72-73.

² See above, p. 9.

³ *Hymnscroll* 141 (I am indebted to Prof. Henning for this interpretation of the verse).

⁴ For references see Henning, *Mir. Man.* ii, p. 328 n. 2.

⁵ M 47 d 19 (*Man. St.*, p. 13); T II D 175 2 R 1 ff. (von Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* iii, p. 31; Bang, *Le Muséon*, xxxvi, p. 236).

⁶ See Polotsky in *Mani-Fund*, p. 73.

⁷ M 4 c 12 (*Man. St.*, p. 5).

⁸ *Ps. Bk.* 84¹⁴⁻²⁰.

⁹ The only exception known is M 625 b, where the text is written in inter-spaced groups of three lines.

sometimes by two, and sometimes by a space between dots. One or two manuscripts also have a dot sometimes at the end of a line, as a space-filler.¹ When a line of verse is unusually long, the last word of a first line is sometimes written at the beginning of the second, or the first word of a second line at the end of the first. In such cases the end of the verse-line is always marked by a dot.

The manuscripts usually have ten verses to a page, and a heading. The only exception known is T II D 178, which has five verses to a page and no heading.² The verses are grouped in cantos, and one canto is divided from the next by the space of a verse left blank. The heading gives the name of the cycle on the verso page, and the number of the canto on the recto, as in the following example:

M 96 (R) šhwm hnd'm (V) 'ngd rwšn'n

Exceptions occur only at the beginning of each cycle, where the first pages bear, instead of a canto-number, a general heading. The following are examples:

M 233 (R) nys'r'd hwydgm'n (V) hwydgm'n
M 855 (R) 'ngd rwšn'n (V) nys'r'd 'ngd rw[šn'n]

Some of the manuscripts have a *p* in the margin by alternate verses. Others containing the same verses do not. Müller's explanation, that this *p* (for *padwāg* 'answer') marks the antiphon, has been generally accepted. In the fifth canto of *Huwīdagmān* and the seventh of *Angad Rōšnān* *p* stands by the second verse and subsequent even verses; but (if the identification of the fragments concerned is correct) in the first and sixth cantos of *Angad Rōšnān* it is the opening verse which has the *p*. In the case of the first canto the identification is, however, very doubtful;³ but if some cantos contained an odd number of verses, and the cantos were chanted continually, the position of the *p* may have varied from one to the next.⁴ On a verso page the *p* is written thus, ▲; but on a recto page it is upside down, thus, ▼. The difference is sometimes helpful for establishing the order of pages.

The manuscripts were made up of separate quires, each con-

¹ These ornamental dots are not reproduced in the transcription of the text.

² Photographs of two sheets from this manuscript are reproduced in W.-L. i (Taf. IV). The manuscript is further distinguished by being written in a script peculiarly difficult to read (see Reitzenstein's comments in *Erl. Myst.*, p. 27); and by some anomalies of spelling which suggest a copyist familiar with Sogdian (see *A.R.* I 12a, 18a, 19a; VI 5a).

³ See below, p. 29.

⁴ Cf. the alteration in position of the *p* in some groups of abecedarian hymns (see *BSOAS.* xiv, p. 436).

taining a considerable number of sheets. Surviving fragments show that in one manuscript verses from the first to sixth cantos of *Huwidagmān* were contained in a single quire;¹ and in another verses from the first to seventh cantos of *Angad Rōšnān*.² In the latter case there appear to have been twelve double sheets in the quire. Probably the average manuscript contained several sets of texts. Fragments exist from at least seven manuscripts which contained both hymn-cycles; and it is a possibility that the two cycles were regularly written together. This cannot be established, however, since many of the forty-odd *handām* manuscripts are represented by a single fragment. There is evidence for other texts being contained in the same manuscripts with the hymn-cycles. M 88 and M 91, for example, have verses from *Evangelionīg* hymns on one sheet and from *Angad Rōšnān* on the other; and the manuscript represented by fragments with the signature T II D 178 contained not only both hymn-cycles, but other verse and prose texts in Iranian, and Uigur texts as well. The fact that the hymn-cycles appear together in the same manuscripts is unfortunate for the reconstruction of the text, as it makes manuscript-evidence useless for distinguishing between the cycles.

V. THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE TEXT

The mutilation of the manuscript-material made it at first difficult to discern even the general character of the hymn-cycles; and the reconstruction of the text, initiated by Müller and Andreas,³ and carried on chiefly by Henning, demanded much patient work. Its progress depended in the first place on the discovery of fragments with titles, or adequate traces of titles, by which they could be assigned to their proper place within the cycles. Thirteen such fragments exist for *Angad Rōšnān* and six for *Huwidagmān*. With them it was possible to construct a skeleton framework to which other fragments again could be attached. Since the manuscripts concerned are numerous, the connecting of these fragments has been chiefly on the basis of subject-matter alone; but in several instances it has been possible to piece together fragments from the same page of a single manuscript.

¹ See below, pp. 32, 33.

² See below, p. 34.

³ The contributions of these two scholars to the reconstruction of the hymn-cycles cannot be assessed separately, since Reitzenstein did not state the extent of his indebtedness to them individually.

The full scope of the work of reconstruction appears from the texts themselves, reproduced below. Here I propose to describe briefly the stages by which this reconstruction was achieved, and also to indicate as precisely as possible the contributions made by each scholar who has worked in this field.¹

Let us begin with the better-preserved cycle, *Angad Rōšnān*. Two of the five complete manuscript-sheets mentioned above contain verses from the sixth canto of this cycle, and on each its title is fully preserved, namely

(R) šhwm hnd'm (V) 'ngd rwšn'n

These two sheets have the signatures M 96 and M 175. To them Müller and Andreas joined M 88 I, another fragment of considerable length. This has no title, but contains almost the same verses as M 96. Another fragment, M 91, from the next page of the same manuscript as M 88 I, has the title

(R) hf[twm] hnd'm (V) 'ng[d rw]šn'n

but its recto page contains the last verses of the sixth canto, also preserved on M 175. These four fragments provided a series of twenty-three verses at the end of the sixth canto. To them Henning added M 675, which has the title

(R) šhwm hnd'm (V) ['ng]d rwšn'n

This fragment he showed to belong to the preceding page of the same manuscript as M 175. Since M 675 V 1 = M 88 I R 2 + M 96 R 2, this discovery added nine more verses to the series, with a gap of five verses, for M 675 consists only of the upper half of a page. This gap I was later able to fill by verses from the verso pages of four small fragments, M 326, T II D 178 VIa and VIIa, and T I α 1537 II. These fragments overlap with each other, and the recto pages of T II D 178 VIa and VIIa overlap in turn with M 675 R (there being only five verses to a page in T II D 178). The verses on the recto pages of the other two fragments precede those on M 675 R, with one verse missing in between. The number of verses known from the end of *A.R.* VI was thus increased

¹ Müller, Andreas, and Lentz were able to base their work on a study of the original fragments. Henning also studied the material at first in the original; but for his later work he used an almost complete series of photographs in his own possession. These he very kindly allowed me to use in my turn (see preface), since the original fragments are not at present accessible.

to thirty-six. I was also able to add to the text established by Müller and Andreas the small piece T I α 1538 II.

The seventh canto of *Angad Rōšnān* is also well represented by readily decipherable fragments. Two of those belonging to the sixth canto contain verses from the seventh also. These are M 91 (with the title of 'Seventh Limb', as we have seen) and M 175. To these Müller and Andreas added M 774, from the next page of the same manuscript as M 175, with the title:

(R) [hf]twm hnd'm (V) 'ngd rw[šn'n]

and M 439, which has no title, but whose contents overlap with those of M 175 and M 91. To these four pieces Henning joined eight smaller fragments: M 690 (from the same page of manuscript as M 439); M 459 a and M 817 (fragments of one page); M 517 (with a title); M 489 a (from the same manuscript and possibly the same page as M 774); M 287 and T I α (fragments of the one page, on which part of a title is preserved, with the number of the canto missing); and M 578 (from the same manuscript as M 96). I was later able to add three more tiny fragments: T I α 1539 II, T I α 1540 II, and T II D 178 IX g.

Henning reconstructed a further group of fragments from this canto, to which he gave the signature *A.R. VIIa*. This group depends on the fragments T III D 280 and M 667, which bear the words, respectively:

(R) []twm hnd(')[] (V) [] rw(š)[]
and

(R) []twm [] (V) [] rwš[]

In M 667 a dot is visible over the gap before the *t* of]twm, making the restoration of [hf]twm certain; and since the two fragments contain in part the same verses, both can be assigned with assurance to the seventh canto. Henning further pieced together with M 667 three other bits from the same manuscript-page, namely M 620, M 918 a, and T I D 51. He thus restored a series of seventeen verses, with a gap. *A.R. VII* contains thirty-six verses, and so there survive fifty-three verses from this canto, which even so is evidently not complete.

The eighth canto of *Angad Rōšnān* is represented by the fragment M 89, which has the title

(R) hštwm hnd'm (V) 'ngd rwšn'n

To this I added the small fragment T II D 67 (12 p.) j.

For the first canto of *Angad Rōšnān* there exist three fragments with a title. One is M 855 V, which was published by Lentz. On this the title runs:

(V) nys'r'd 'ngd rw[šn'n]

i.e. 'Begun (is) *Angad Rōšnān*'. The first verse on this fragment is actually the first verse of the canto and cycle. Henning identified with the verses on M 855 V those on M 256 V, thus restoring in part the first four verses of the cycle. The fragment T II D 79 (1 p.) bears traces of the same title as M 855 V, namely

(R) ny(s)[r'd 'n]g[d rwšn'n] (V) ['ngd rwšn'n]

The position of the *g* on the recto page showed that 'ngd rwšn'n was to be restored and not hwydgm'n; and our present knowledge, thanks to Henning, of the whole of the first canto of *Huwidagmān* proves the correctness of this. Henning discovered that the verso of T II D 79 overlaps with the recto of M 780, a fairly well-preserved fragment with seven verses on each page; and to M 780 he joined M 831 and T II D 140, two small fragments from the same page of the same manuscript. M 831 contains verses from the bottom of a page, and its relationship with M 780 shows that the latter fragment is from the top of a page. It is almost certain that for the beginning of the first canto the scribe would take a fresh page;¹ and if the first verse of *A.R.* I is set at the top of a page, and there are ten verses to a page, it follows that M 780 R I must have a number ending in 1 in the total series—viz. 11, 21, or 31, &c.; and since T II D 79 V 1 = M 780 R 3 it follows that T II D 79 R 1 must have a number ending in 3 in the total series—viz. 3, 13, or 23, &c. But the caption 'Begun is . . .' is naturally restricted to the first page or two of the cycle;² and on the basis of these calculations Henning identified T II D 79 R 1 with *A.R.* I 3. This fragment thus follows directly on M 855 V (= *A.R.* I 1-2). The identification, based on calculation, is supported by the fact that M 855 V contains traces of a third verse, and has two letters, appropriately spaced, in common with the first line of T II D 79.

¹ Cf. M 256 and M 855. In both these fragments a space is left after the end of *Huwidagmān* (on the recto page) and *Angad Rōšnān* is begun at the top of the next (the verso) page.

² Thus in *Huwidagmān* two fragments containing the opening verses have the title nys'r'd hwydgm'n; but M 93 I (whose first verse = *H.* I 22) has the title nxwyn hnd'm hwydgm'n.

Henning added two other fragments, namely M 673 and M 889, to the group which he had thus created for the beginning of *A.R. I*; and to these eight fragments I was able to join seven more: T I α 1540 I, T I D (3 p.) a, T II K 11 (15 p.) n, and T II D 178 β, a together with T II D 178 IX b, f, and j. The last four are from the same page of the same manuscript. It was also possible to identify tentatively the verso of a tiny fragment, T II D 52 (23 p.) a, with the opening words of the canto. On this page there is the beginning of a title, namely '[n](g)[. . .], and beneath this are the words 'ngd rws[with a *p* in the margin beside them. On the recto page are the last words of another line of poetry, accompanied by another *p*. These should perhaps be assigned to *Huwīdagmān*; but unfortunately the fragment is too small to make even the identification of the verso page certain.

The third fragment with a title from *A.R. I* is M 518. This bears the words:

(R) nxw(y)[n hn]d'm (V) ['n](g)[d rws'n]

The trace of the *g* on the verso page is faint, but the fragment can be assigned with certainty to *Angad Rōšnān* for the reason given above—namely that the whole of *H. I* is known in translation. The verses on M 518 do not overlap with any on the other fragments from this first canto, and Henning therefore gave the fragment the separate signature of *A.R. Ia*. To it he joined a bilingual fragment M 815, which gives a Sogdian translation beneath the Parthian original. M 518 contains, with a gap, fifteen verses, and there are thirty verses in the earlier group of fragments. Thus there is a total of forty-five extant verses from *A.R. I*.

The second canto of *Angad Rōšnān* is represented only by the fragment M 863, which has the title

(R) bdyg [hnd'm] (V) ['ngd r]ws'n

This is the last fragment of the cycle which can be assigned to its place by the evidence of an adequately preserved title either on the fragment itself or on an associated piece.

With the cycle *Huwīdagmān* it is again convenient to begin with some of the first fragments to be made known, namely T II D 178 I–III, three complete sheets written in a difficult script, which were published by Lentz. Lentz, on evidence already described,¹

¹ See above, p. 5.

identified the last six verses on T II D 178 I with the beginning of the fifth canto. The first three verses belong therefore to the end of the fourth. Lentz assumed that this fragment was followed by T II D 178 II, III, and the more fragmentary IV with possibly a page missing between III and IV; and he published all these together.¹ The assumption seemed justifiable; the contents of II followed smoothly upon those of I, and though there was some abruptness in the transition between II and III, it nevertheless was reasonable to suppose that these three perfect sheets of one manuscript had been preserved lying on top of each other. Yet further research has proved this supposition wrong. As has already been said, T II D 178 is unusual in that it has only five verses to a page. If therefore the recto page of another fragment with the usual number of verses to a page (ten) contains verses in common with, e.g., those of the recto page of T II D 178 I, its verso will overlap, not with the verso of T II D 178 I, but with the recto of the following sheet of this manuscript, supposedly T II D 178 II. As it happened, Henning discovered a fragment whose recto page did coincide with the recto page of T II D 178 I. This was M 858 e, the order of whose pages is fixed by the presence of a complete marginal *p* on the verso page. The recto of M 858 e coincides with T II D 178 I R, but its verso has nothing in common with T II D 178 II R, as would have been the case had these two sheets been consecutive. Henning was able, moreover, to add a second fragment, M 895 a, whose recto could be identified with T II D 178 I V, but whose verso was independent of T II D 178 II V. Thus it was certain that at least one sheet was missing between T II D 178 I and II.

Later I found three fragments, T II K (5 p.) e, and T I D 16 (9 p.) c and g, of which the two latter are from the same page of the same manuscript as M 895 a. All three have verses in common with T II D 178 I R but not with T II D 178 II. Further, the recto sides of three other fragments, T II D 67 (12 p.) a, T I D 51 (9 p.) b, and T I D (12 p.) i, proved to have verses in common with the verso of M 858 e; but again their versos did not overlap with T II D 178 II, as would have been the case had only one sheet been missing between T II D 178 I and II. There was thus established a series of twenty verses (with

¹ See W.-L. i, pp. 111-14.

lacunae) at the beginning of *H. V*, which did not include T II D 178 II.

Further, it was possible to identify lines from the verso of a fragment T I D (9 p.) g with the first lines on the recto page of T II D 178 III. T I D (9 p.) g is a mere scrap of manuscript; but enough remains of the line immediately preceding the first verse of T II D 178 III to show that it is not the same as the last line of T II D 178 II. Nor has the recto page of T I D (9 p.) g anything in common with T II D 178 II; so at least two sheets must be missing between T II D 178 II and III also, and the links between the assumed series are thus severed entirely.

There is, moreover, the space of a verse left blank on the verso of T I D (9 p.) g which shows that the first verse on T II D 178 III R is the beginning of a canto. This fact accords admirably with the contents of the verse itself, for in it the Saviour appears to the soul—a moment of climax. The lines run as follows:

When I had said these words, with soul a-tremble,
I beheld the Saviour as he shone before me.

One would readily assign this verse to the beginning of the sixth canto of *Huwīdagmān* but for the evidence of the Sogdian material. A page with the signature T II K contains the last five verses of the Sogdian translation of *H. V*, and the first verse of *H. VI*, together with its two opening Parthian words in Sogdian transcription, namely 'wm 'wδyn, i.e. 'and while I . . .' Henning translates the Sogdian version of *H. VI* 1 as follows:

While I thus wept, and shed tears upon the ground,
I heard the voice of the beneficent king.

These words are clearly not a translation of T II D 178 III R 1, which cannot therefore be assigned to *H. VI*. There is, moreover, the difficulty that although the Sogdian is not a translation of the Parthian verse, it presents much the same situation. In both the soul in distress becomes aware of its Saviour. It would be possible to understand the apparent parallelism as a dramatic development; in *H. VI* the soul hears the voice of its Saviour, and in a later canto it sees the god himself. This is not very likely, however; and the possibility therefore arises that T II D 178 III does not belong to this cycle at all. This is a matter to which we must return later.

There is a small fragment, M 489 b, which has the title

(R) pnjwm hn[d'm] (V) [hwyd]gm'n

This is the only fragment from this canto with a title, and it has not been linked with any other piece. Henning gave it a separate signature, and it now stands as *H. Vb*.

Of the other cantos of *Huwidagmān*, the first is known in its entirety in a Chinese translation, containing originally seventy-eight verses.¹ Three Parthian fragments with titles have survived, and it was through these that Henning succeeded in identifying the Chinese version.² Two, M 233 and M 625 b, bear the following words:

M 233 (R) nys'r'd hwydgm'n (V) hwydgm'n
M 625 b (R) [nys]'r'd h(w)[yd]gm''[n]

Both contain the opening verses of the hymn-cycle. M 625 b is singular in having the verses written in interspaced groups of three lines. The third fragment, M 93 I, has the title

(R) nxwyn hnd'm (V) hwydgm'n

It does not overlap with any other fragment, but can be assigned to its exact place within the canto by means of the Chinese. I was able to identify the following additional fragments: M 603, which is from the same manuscript as M 780 and other fragments containing verses from *A.R.* I; T II D 167 (10 p.) a, and T II D 167 (10 p.) b, two fragments from successive pages of the same manuscript; T I D 27 (10 p.) e; T II D 79 (3 p.) b; T I D 51 (+ T I α 6 p.) a; and T I D 51 (5 p.) b. None of these small fragments has a title or is connected with a fragment with a title, and without the Chinese version it would be impossible to assign them even approximately.

Almost nothing is known of the second canto of *Huwidagmān* except its title, which is preserved as follows on two sheets from Sogdian manuscripts:³

T II K 178 (R) δβtykw 'n(δ)[(V)](t)βr's
T II D 178 (R) δβtykw 'nδ[(V)](k)kr'yty p't[

The whole title can be reconstructed thus:

δβtykw 'nδ[m'y γwyδkm'n] [γnt']kk'r'yty p'tβr's

i.e. 'Second Limb (of) *Huwidagmān*: The Punishment of Sinners'.

¹ One verse has been omitted by a copyist; see below, p. 77 n. 7.

² The identification was made difficult, however, by the obscurity and verbosity of the Chinese rendering.

³ Henning's readings and reconstruction.

Traces only are preserved in Sogdian of the last verse of this canto and the first verse of *H. III*¹—not enough for a reconstruction of the verses, but sufficient to be a check on Parthian fragments. No identification has been possible.

No other trace remains of *H. III*. *H. IV* is represented by the first three verses on T II D 178 I R, which are the final verses of this canto. *H. VI* survives more fully. The fragment M 93 is a double sheet, of which the second sheet, M 93 II, contains verses from the sixth canto, under the heading

(R) šhwm hnd[ʾm] (V) [hwyd]gm'n

With it Henning linked the fragment T II D 57, which has the same title, perfectly preserved; and I later added M 289 a, which is from the same page of the same manuscript as M 93 II. These three fragments give, with *lacunae*, a series of twenty-two verses. The Sogdian translation shows that these are not from the beginning of the canto.² The group has the signature *H. VIc* in the final reconstruction.

Finally Henning discovered from its colophon that the fragment M 256 R contains the last three verses of *Huwīdagmān*, which are also found in M 855 R. Neither fragment has a title, so that the number of this last canto is unknown.

All the fragments discussed so far—with the exception of those belonging to *H. I*—were assigned to their places on the evidence either of a title or of a colophon. Other evidence exists, however, by which several more fragments can be assigned with a fair measure of certainty; this part of the reconstruction is my own.

There exists a group of small fragments which has proved of considerable importance for the reconstruction of *Angad Rōšnān*. This is the series T I α 1530–44. The fifteen fragments consist each of a small part from the centre of a double sheet; on each page is preserved either the first or last words (or parts of words) of from one to four verses. The scraps of manuscript are too small to add much to our knowledge of the text, but are of value for the allotting of other fragments, since it appears that most of them have been kept in their original order in relation to one another. This was shown by the identification of several of them with verses of

¹ Together with colophon and heading; see W.-L., i, pp. 67–68.

² See above, p. 31.

Angad Rōšnān. These identifications have been mentioned in the appropriate places above; but to make the matter clear a table of them is given here:

T I α 1540 I R	A.R. I 18-19	T I α 1540 II V	A.R. VII 33-35
V	„ „ 28-29	R	„ „ 23-24
		1539 II V	„ „ 14-15
		R	„ „ 4-5
		1538 II V	„ VI 67-69
		R	„ „ 57-59
		1537 II V	„ „ 48-49
		R	„ „ 38-39

It is evident from this that the double sheet 1540 originally enclosed other double sheets containing the end of the first canto, the beginning of the seventh, and the whole of the intervening cantos (i.e. the second to sixth). Unfortunately gaps at the beginning of *Angad Rōšnān* make it impossible to identify 1539 I-1537 I; but on the evidence of the other fragments these may be assigned to the early cantos of the cycle.

Even without the decisive textual evidence, there would be reason to think that the fragments 1540-1537 had lain on top of each other. All are of roughly the same size and shape; and deteriorations which are apparent in 1540 show, but less conspicuously, on each successive fragment. There is, for example, a hole in the centre of 1540; and holes similar but diminishing in size are found in each of the rest of the series. From the character of the fragments alone, therefore, one would be justified in assuming 1540 to have been an outer sheet, which had enclosed, and to a certain extent protected, the inner ones.

Moreover, the shape of the fragments suggests that not only 1539-1537, but also the unidentified 1536-1530 had all lain within 1540, thus forming a continuous series; for the minute stages of deterioration can be traced throughout the group. Fragment 1530 is the best preserved of all; and its two sheets are almost identical in outline, as would naturally be the case with an inmost double sheet, whose sides would lie directly against each other. In the next fragment, 1531, a tiny tear appears, which is larger in 1532-7, and leads to the loss of a corner in 1538, on which the traces of only two verses are preserved, instead of three as in 1530-7. This is the case also for 1539-40.

From this it follows that 1540 enclosed all the ten double sheets

1539–1530, comprising approximately 400 verses.¹ These ten sheets must have contained between them about six cantos (i.e. the first to seventh); and a rough measure is thus provided of sixty-six verses to a canto. The only canto from either cycle known in its entirety is *H. I*, in which there are seventy-eight verses.² The discrepancy between the figures is not great, and there is no need to question on this score the combined textual and material evidence.

We must now leave this series of fragments temporarily to reconsider T II D 178 III. The identification of this fragment with T I D (9 p.) g³ had severed its connexion with T II D 178 II, which had in turn already been divorced from T II D 178 I. Thus both these important fragments were left *in vacuo*. Moreover, the manuscript to which they belong contains both hymn-cycles (as had been shown by the identification of seven fragments, T II D 178 β, α, VIa, VIIa, IXb, f, g, and j, with verses from *Angad Rōšnān*). The possibility was therefore present that T II D 178 II and III belonged to *Angad Rōšnān* rather than to *Huwīdagmān*. For T II D 178 III this was almost a probability, on account of the Sogdian translation of *H. VI*, which showed that the Saviour's coming was described in that cycle in terms different from those used in the opening verse of the fragment.⁴ The matter was finally decided by the identification of verses on the verso page of T II D 178 III with others on the verso of T I α 1535 II. The verses on the recto page of 1535 II fall accordingly between those on the recto pages of T II D 178 III and its associated fragment T I D (9 p.) g, with both of which they agree perfectly.

T II D 178 III contains, as we have seen, the beginning of a canto. It follows that 1535 II contains verses close to the beginning of the same canto. By a curious chance, however, 1535 I also contains the opening of a canto, as is shown by a space left blank between two verses on its recto page. It remained, therefore, to discover if possible which cantos were thus represented.

Let us first consider the assignment of the group of verses made

¹ 1540 I R 1 = *A.R. I* 18, so that the sheet preceding 1540 I must have contained the opening verses of *Angad Rōšnān*. Possibly this missing sheet enclosed 1540 in its turn, making up a quire of twelve double sheets—a likely even number. The manuscript to which the fragments belonged may thus be compared with M 801, in which one double sheet originally enclosed at least fourteen others (see Henning, *BBB.*, p. 5).

² See below, p. 77 n. 7.

³ See above, p. 31.

⁴ See *ibid.*

up by T I D (9 p.) g+1535 II+T II D 178 III. We have seen that the fragments 1530-40 form an unbroken series. Fragment 1537 II contains the first verses of a block of thirty-six from the end of *A.R.* VI.¹ Our rough calculation of sixty-six verses to a canto, together with the actual example of seventy-eight in *H.* I, suggests that cantos were of considerable length. At least one more fragment from the series must therefore be assigned to this sixth canto. The inclusion of 1536 II brings the number of verses in the canto to fifty-six; but since the preceding page, 1535 II V, contains verses from near the beginning of a canto, it is plain that these must be added also. Together with the verses on the recto page of the associated T II D 178 III, they bring the total for *A.R.* VI to seventy-three, a number which agrees well with the other evidence. We may therefore assign T II D 178 III with confidence to the beginning of *A.R.* VI.² A result of this is that in both cycles the Saviour appears at the beginning of the sixth canto—a piece of parallelism which provides further evidence for the correctness of the allocation.

The double sheet 1535 enclosed, as we have seen, the double sheets 1534-1530. There were thus approximately 220 verses (viz. $5 \times 40 + 20$) between the canto beginning on 1535 I R and that beginning on 1535 II, a number which should comprise three cantos. Since 1535 II contains verses from the sixth canto, 1535 I should therefore contain the opening of the third. This accords well enough with the fact that 1535 I is preceded by the single sheets 1536 I-40 I, with 1540 I R I = *A.R.* I 18. These preceding sheets would then contain *A.R.* I and II, which would thus consist together of approximately 120 verses, i.e. roughly sixty verses to a canto. I have therefore assigned 1535 I to *A.R.* II and III; and have given T II D 178 III and its allied fragments the following signatures: T II D 178 III = *A.R.* VI; T I D (9 p.) g R+1535 II R = *A.R.* V.

According to these calculations the fragments 1534-1530 contain verses from cantos III-V. These fragments bear variously, on their left- or right-hand sheets, words such as *kym* . . . 'wm (i.e. 'Who [shall . . .] me, and . . . me'), which suggest verses from

¹ See above, p. 26.

² Fragments from the same manuscript, namely T II D 178 VIa and VIIa, had already been identified with the verses now numbered *A.R.* VI 42-45, 47-50. Two sheets of manuscript are thus missing between them and T II D 178 III.

a part of the cycle preceding the coming of the Saviour. The Saviour is present in the sixth canto; and there is good reason, therefore, to be satisfied with a reconstruction which allots these fragments to cantos earlier than the sixth.

Few of the series T I α 1530-40 can be precisely assigned, since the exact number of verses in all cantos but the sixth is unknown; but approximate positions for the whole series are given in the following table:

T I α 1540 I R	A.R. I	18-19	T I α 1540 II V	A.R. VII	33-35
V	„ I	28-29	R	„ VII	23-24
1539 I R	„ I	38-39	1539 II V	„ VII	14-15
V	„ I	48-49	R	„ VII	4-5
1538 I R	„ I	58-59	1538 II V	„ VI	67-69
V	„ IIa	1-2	R	„ VI	57-59
1537 I R	„ IIa	10-13	1537 II V	„ VI	48-49
V	„ IIa	20-23	R	„ VI	38-39
1536 I R	„ IIa	30-33	1536 II V	„ VI	27-29
V	„ IIa	40-43	R	„ VI	17-19
1535 I R	„ IIa	50+III I	1535 II V	„ VI	7-9
V	„ III	9-11	R	„ V	61-63
1534 I R	„ III	19-21	1534 II V	„ V	51-53
V	„ III	29-31	R	„ V	41-43
1533 I R	„ III	39-41	1533 II V	„ V	31-33
V	„ III	49-51	R	„ V	21-23
1532 I R	„ III	59-61	1532 II V	„ V	11-13
V	„ III	69-71	R	„ V	1-3
1531 I R	„ IV	1-3	1531 II V	„ IV	71-73
V	„ IV	11-13	R	„ IV	61-63
1530 I R	„ IV	21-23	1530 II V	„ IV	51-53
V	„ IV	31-33	R	„ IV	41-43

A separate small fragment from a single page of the same manuscript, namely, T I D (12 p.) i, has been identified with verses from *H. V.* The manuscript is thus one of those which contained both hymn-cycles.

There are now two fragments with traces of titles to be considered. On one of them, T II D 75, the following words have survived:

(R) [] hnd'm (V) 'ngd rwn'n

Since the fragment does not coincide with any other, the only evidence for supplying the missing number of the canto is in its contents. These consist of verses addressed by the Saviour to the soul. The fragment must, therefore, come after T II D 178 III (= *A.R.* VI 1-10) in which the Saviour first appears. Moreover, its contents resemble closely, both in matter and manner, the last

verses on T II D 178 III and those at the beginning of the group of fragments first combined under the signature *A.R. VI*. It is a characteristic of both hymn-cycles to have long runs of verses of a similar type, and it is therefore probable that these three sets of verses form a single group. T II D 75 cannot well follow the group of fragments at the end of *A.R. VI*, for the beginning of *A.R. VII* is known, and contains matter of a different kind. It must therefore be set between it and T II D 178 III. The gap of twenty-seven verses which exists there is spanned by the fragment T I α 1536 II; but this contains only the beginning of lines on the recto page and the end of lines on the verso page, whereas the opposite is true of T II D 75. Even if the two fragments contained verses in common it would therefore be impossible to prove it. From the scanty traces on T I α 1536 II it seems unlikely, however, that they exactly coincide. The precise position of T II D 75 within the gap remains doubtful, therefore; but since for convenience of reference precision is desirable, I have identified T II D 75 R 1 with *A.R. VI* 21.¹ This is probably approximately correct, and as a result *A.R. VI* is almost complete.

The other fragment with a title is T II D 137², on whose recto page the one word *šhw* has survived. To this fragment it was possible to join three others: T I D (5 p.) d, M 502 α, b, and T II D 167 (10 p.) j. The four fragments together give a run of twenty-four verses, with one considerable gap. The length of this series makes it impossible to assign it to the now almost complete *A.R. VI*, and we may therefore place it with confidence in *H. VI*. From its contents it is probable that the group precedes the verses already known from this canto; it has therefore been given the signature *H. VIb*.

The evidence for assigning the foregoing fragments is strong, although not so decisive as the existence of a full title. There remain several interesting fragments for whose assignment there are only slight indications; but an attempt has nevertheless been made to allot these to approximately correct positions. The tentative nature of their placing is shown by an asterisk before each signature.

One of these fragments is the complete page T II D 178 II.

¹ T II D 75 contains marginal *p*'s, as do several fragments belonging to the later part of the canto; and their position shows that it is necessary to equate the first verse of the fragment with a verse of an odd number.

In connexion with this we must consider three more pieces from the manuscript T I α , numbered 1541-4. These pieces have the same general features as the series 1530-40, but are more tattered, and in one case the left- and right-hand sheets have become separated, and now bear different numbers (viz. 1543 and 1544). The connexion between these fragments and the series 1530-40 is obscure. Fragments 1542 I R and 1544 R each contain the words *ky . . . kym . . . 'wm . . .* which are characteristic of the early cantos of both cycles. But the series 1530-40 spans the whole of the early part of *Angad Rōšnān* up to the coming of the Saviour. Therefore either the fragments 1541-4 come from a different level of some of the same pages as 1530-40; or they are from a different set of pages altogether, presumably containing the other cycle *Huwīdagmān*. The fact that they are of roughly the same size and shape suggests that all fifteen were torn away in one block, which favours the latter interpretation. It is, moreover, known that the manuscript from which the fragments come contained both cycles. The fifteen fragments 1530-44 cannot, however, be consecutive, for wherever we assign the last three within *Huwīdagmān*, A.R. I 1-18 and all the verses of H. I at least are unrepresented.

It has not proved possible to identify any of these three fragments beyond a doubt; but there is a likelihood that T I α 1544 R = T II D 178 II R. The words preserved on 1544 R are as follows:

1a k[
b cy 'y[
2a kym [
b cy [

The corresponding verses of T II D 178 II R run as follows:

3a kym bwj'h 'c rwmb o cy hrwyn d'md'd'n
b cy 'yw byd'n wyg'nynd o 'wt 'st'wynd 'by 'xšd
4a k(ym) [p]rys(p)'n 'zw'y'h o 'wt p'rgyn wyd'r'h
b cy pwr tr (s) ['w](t) lrz o cy dyw'n wyg'ng

The correspondence is fairly striking in 1b = 3b, for the combination *cy 'y[* is not common. Nevertheless, since it is only possible to compare two verses, the evidence cannot be regarded as conclusive. (The verso pages do not correspond, since T II D 178 II has only five verses to a page.) There is, however, no other evidence for allotting T II D 178 II, which has therefore been placed within

the cycle *Huwidagmān*—very tentatively, since there are two doubtful factors: one, whether it and T I α 1544 are really to be identified, and two, whether in any case T I α 1544 really belongs to *Huwidagmān*. As for the placing of T II D 178 II within the cycle, the only guide is the striking resemblance between its contents and those of T II D 178 I, formerly regarded as its predecessor. It has therefore been placed just before that fragment, with the signature *H. IVa. With T II D 178 II is associated also the small fragment T I D 8 (11 p.) b, one of whose pages coincides with verses on the verso page of T II D 178 II.

A fourth fragment from this same manuscript, namely T II D 178 IV, was published by Lentz as forming possibly the last member of the series I–IV; but there is no longer any reason to seek a close link between this and the fragments T II D 178 I–III. It is true that T II D 178 IV contains verses of the same character as its supposed predecessor; but the two sheets cannot be consecutive, for if they were the verso page of T II D 178 IV would overlap with the recto page of T I α 1536 II; and if only one sheet were missing between them it would be identifiable with the verso page of the same fragment. The remainder of *A.R.* VI is too well preserved for it to be possible that T II D 178 IV should belong later in that canto. Yet it is a striking fact that this fragment contains verses addressed by the Saviour to the soul, characterized by the same formula '*And I am . . . and you are*' which distinguishes the early part of *A.R.* VI. Fortunately we know from the Sogdian translation that similar verses appear in *Huwidagmān* also—another example of the close parallelism of the cycles.¹ This parallelism appears to extend in some degree to their structure. It seems probable, therefore, that since in *Angad Rōšnān* verses with this formula follow upon the appearance of the Saviour, the same was true of *Huwidagmān*; and T II D 178 IV has therefore been allotted with some confidence to the opening part of the sixth canto of *Huwidagmān*, with the signature *H. VIa.

Another interesting fragment is T II D 77² (5 p.) c, which has on its verso page a blank space between two verses, marking the end of a canto. The first seven verses of the fragment contain recollections of Paradise, at which the soul weeps. The last two, which are the opening ones of the new canto, are too fragmentary for their

¹ See W.-L. i, p. 67; in spite of what is said there, it is not clear from the Sogdian MS. to which canto of *Huwidagmān* verses of this type belong.

contents to be clear; but the words *hrwyn wdng* suggest that they contain some account of the soul's sufferings in this world. In the extant text recollections of Paradise are characteristic of *Huwīdagmān*. Apart from the descriptive first canto they occur also in the fragment *H. Vb* and in Sogdian verses from the fifth canto. The parallelism between the cycles makes it likely that similar passages occurred in *Angad Rōšnān*; but in the absence of positive proof of this we may regard Paradise and memories of it as a characteristic and recurrent theme in *Huwīdagmān*. Accordingly T II D 77² c has been allotted to this cycle. It is evident from its contents that the fragment contains verses from the early part of the cycle; and since there exist, in Parthian, Sogdian, or Chinese, the last verses of *H. I*, *II*, *IV*, and *V*, it can only be allotted to the end of the third canto and the beginning of the fourth. I have therefore given it the signatures **H. III* and **H. IV*.

Two other groups of fragments have been assigned almost arbitrarily. One is formed by the three fragments M 588, M 871 f, and T II D 66¹, which make up, with gaps, a series of twenty-three verses. The contents are partly narrative, partly dramatic, the latter consisting of words from the Saviour to the soul. In matter and manner they resemble closely the verses surviving from *A.R. VIII*. It was possible, therefore, to assign them either to this canto or to a parallel canto of *Huwīdagmān*. I have taken the latter course, and given the group the signature **H. VII*. M 502 β, a, M 689, and T I D 51 (3 p.) b are three other small fragments whose contents overlap, and which also contain verses from the Saviour to the soul. M 689 is from a manuscript known to contain both cycles. On the grounds of congruence alone I have allotted these fragments to the end of *Huwīdagmān*, setting them immediately before the verses contained in M 256 R and M 855 R, which are known to be the last of the cycle. For reference it is necessary that this canto should be given a number; and since eight cantos are known for *Angad Rōšnān*, the last canto of *Huwīdagmān* has been called **H. VIII*. It is, of course, in doubt whether eight is the correct total number of cantos. The group M 502 β, a+M 689+T I D 51 (3 p.) b bears, therefore, the signature **H. VIII*; and M 256 R+M 855 R the signature **H. VIIa*.

Two other fragments assigned on the grounds of congruence alone are T I D (10 p.) j, and T I D (3 p.) b. The subject-matter of the former closely resembles that of the early verses of *H. V*. It

has, therefore, been given the signature **H. Va.* The latter is from the manuscript also represented by M 780 and other fragments, of which four contain verses from *A.R. I. T I D* (3 p.) b has verses closely resembling those of *A.R. Ia*, and it has therefore been given the signature **A.R. Ib.* Finally there are several small fragments, connected by subject-matter alone, which have for convenience been assigned to *A.R. III*, with the surviving traces of which they are wholly in accord. These are *T I D* (12 p.) h (= **A.R. III a*); *T I D 51 α* (2 p.) b + *T I D 51* (+ *T I α* (6 p.) ii) e (= **A.R. III b*); and *T II D 79* (3 p.) a (= **A.R. III c*).

The reconstructed hymn-cycles are represented by the following number of Parthian verses:¹ *Angad Rōšnān* I (42 verses); II (6); III (18); V (2); VI (52); VII (50); and VIII (14). Total: 184. *Huwīdagmān* I (34); III (7); IV (16); V (20); VI (32); VII (13) and VIII (9). Total: 131. The total number of verses which have been assigned a place, definitely or tentatively, is thus 315.

There remains unidentified a considerable number of small fragments from strophic texts. From their contents it is evident that some of these are not to be connected with the hymn-cycles; the rest it was originally intended to reproduce in a group here. During their study, however, the difficulties of identification became increasingly apparent, and the usefulness of reproducing them in a block more and more doubtful. Some, moreover, are very small and lack any intrinsic value. The principle adopted in the end was therefore to reproduce only those which are of some interest in themselves, and whose connexion with the hymn-cycles is made probable either by their contents or by manuscript-evidence.² These appear together at the end under the heading *Fragments*.

VI. SOME REMARKS ON AUTHORSHIP AND STYLE

The two hymn-cycles resemble each other closely. There is a contrast in their opening cantos, but otherwise they are so alike both in matter and in style that passages from one have readily been

¹ Fragments of verses have been generally counted in this reckoning provided they contain complete words, except for those verses represented only by the series *T I α* 1530-5, which have been omitted.

² Manuscript-evidence is not of great value, since one manuscript may have contained both the hymn-cycles and other poetic texts written in the same fashion, as, e.g., the manuscript represented by M 88 + M 91, in which there were both *Evangelionīg* hymns and *Angad Rōšnān*.

assigned to the other, and runs of verses created out of the scattered fragments of both. From this we may infer that the two works are by one author; or that if they are by different authors, one has so directly inspired the other that we are justified in grouping them under one attribution.

The author of *Huwīdagmān* has been identified tentatively by Henning with Mār Ammō.¹ Slight internal evidence accords with this identification, since it favours the supposition of an early date. The hymn-cycles are in good Parthian; and they contain only a few of the Indian loan-words found in later texts.² Ammō, one of Mani's chief apostles, was chosen for the mission to the Parthians because of his knowledge of their language.³ There is no other record, however, of his literary activity.⁴

In the *handām* hymns the author's purpose was presumably to celebrate death in a liturgy designed for general use. To achieve this worthily he has developed the theme of suffering and release through eight or more long cantos. This he has done without cumbering it with irrelevancies. There is an economy of allusion to secondary matters, but an expansive treatment of the main action. The absence of proper names is only one instance of a general restraint. Thus in the first canto of *Huwīdagmān* doctrinal details are subordinated to a broad description of the harmony of heaven, which the poet contrasts with the strife and misery of earth. Later the evils of earth are dealt with at even greater length through the soul's lamentations. The poet is deliberate and unhurried, achieving dignity and impressiveness by amplification rather than by concentration.

Diffuseness in handling requires an accompanying fullness of style. There is a difficulty here, however. The hymn-cycles are long, and were presumably sung, which meant they were appre-

¹ See above, p. 7.

² See Henning, *BSOAS.* xii, p. 50.

³ See *Mir. Man.* ii, pp. 302¹⁴–303².

⁴ For general records of Ammō's work as a missionary in the east see Henning, *Mir. Man.* ii, p. 302 n. 6 with references; 'Neue Materialien zur Geschichte des Manichäismus', *ZDMG.*, xc, p. 8; 'Waručān-Šāh', *Journal of the Greater India Society*, xi, 2, p. 87. Ammō was with Mani during the last days of his life, and testified concerning them to the Church (see *Mir. Man.* iii, p. 891 q 15–17 and n. 5 with references). He was remembered in popular tales in both East and West (see von Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* i, pp. 32–34, re-edited by Bang, *Le Muséon*, xlv, pp. 17–24; Polotsky, *Man. Homilien*, p. 91¹¹ et seq.), and was later claimed as their founder by the schismatic Dēnāwars (see *Mir. Man.* iii, p. 854 n. 1 with references).

hended by ear rather than eye. To 'load every rift with ore' would therefore be to strain the attention. Oral poets have met this difficulty through the use of traditional phrases and fixed epithets, which rest the attention and allow an ornate style that is not too exacting. The Parthian poet uses a simpler type of 'padding' which dilutes rather than enriches his style. His sentence-structure is simple. The sentences usually coincide with the half-verse or verse, and are thereby kept short and direct. A high proportion of them are introduced with the word 'and' (*ud*); and much use is made of a few colourless adjectives and pronouns, such as 'all' (*harw*, *harwīn*) and 'that, these' (*hau*, *hawīn*), which enable the author to construct runs of verses with a minimum of adjectival enrichment. Attention is thus concentrated on substantives and verbs. The poet uses also a number of stock phrases, frequently repeated: for example, 'and it is wholly full of . . .' (*ud hamag purr . . .*), 'and . . . there is none therein' (*ud . . . andar nē ast*). This means that often only one word in a half-line is fresh and significant.

The attention is also rested by a considerable repetitiveness in vocabulary. This is to a certain extent inevitable when limited themes are handled at length; but it is clear that repetition in itself does not offend the author. He often repeats a word or phrase several times within a short run of verses, when he could easily have avoided such close juxtaposition. From this it seems that iteration is a deliberate device for emphasis.

Alliteration appears as a fairly frequent ornament. There is also a considerable use of imagery. The similes are obvious pictorial ones, whose effectiveness lies in their clarity; the movement of angels is compared with lightning, transient beauty with a rose or melting snow, wrath with a stormy sea. There is a much greater wealth of metaphor, which is drawn from the general Manichaean store of symbolism. To take one example, the world is variously presented as a sea and a waterless waste; a dungeon and a dark valley; a field of battle and a trap; a hell without light and a fire. The poet makes this imagery effective partly by its sheer abundance but partly also by imaginative use. The best preserved example of his skill occurs in the first canto of *Angad Rōšnān*. Sea-imagery is first introduced here by similes, one following the other in the usual leisurely and expansive fashion. The soul's sufferings are compared with a tossing sea, the demons' wrath with a sea of fire, the soul with something coursing over the heart of the ocean.

These incidental comparisons appear to lead the poet to the theme of the sea itself, which he takes up in a sustained metaphor. The furious waves, lashed by storm, seek to engulf the ship of the soul, which tosses with timbers strained, masts cracked, rudderless and adrift. The cumulative effect of the verses is impressive, and the image remains in the mind.

The hymn-cycles as a whole are planned works, and their subject-matter is firmly controlled; the action moves slowly but steadily, and there is an imaginative power which integrates the whole.

VII. VERSIFICATION

Many of the surviving verses of the hymn-cycles are mutilated; but there are 135 complete lines in *Angad Rōšnān*,¹ and 44 in *Huwīdagmān*, which provide a fair field for metrical study. Both cycles are written in the unrhymed,² accentual verse which Henning has shown to be characteristic of early Iranian poetry.³ In this type of verse the number of stresses appears to be the decisive metrical factor; but Henning has observed that the variation in the number of syllables is not a matter of indifference, but appears to have its limits fixed for each poem.⁴ A metrical comparison between the hymn-cycles must therefore take into consideration the length of lines as well as the number of stresses.

One of the difficulties in studying Middle Iranian verse is uncertainty over the pronunciation of some words.⁵ This creates problems for a general study of metres, but fortunately does not affect a comparison between two particular poems of the same date, provided that a consistent scheme of pronunciation is adopted. In the case of the *handām* hymns any alterations in such a scheme would not result in changes in the relative lengths of the lines and half-lines of the two cycles; for a comparison between them can be based on a sufficiently large number of verses to ensure that any

¹ Now 139 (*A.R.* I 15a and 19b and VI 50a and 50b were restored after this metrical study had been completed). No lines are included in this estimate whose allocation is in any way doubtful.

² Rhyme appears so rarely in the hymn-cycles that it is probably an accident rather than a deliberate ornament.

³ See *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1942, pp. 52-56. Henning believes this Iranian poetry to have influenced the Mandaean, in which a similar type of verse is found. Lidzbarski had considered the possibility that the Mandaean verse-form was derived from a foreign source (see his introduction to *Mandäische Liturgien*, pp. viii-xv).

⁴ See *BSOAS.* xiii, p. 645.

⁵ See *ibid.*, p. 641.

different pronunciations would merely cancel each other out. The assumed pronunciation is given below of some of the words that might be read in a different fashion:

Monosyllables: bram-, brahm, drūšt, frēh, grāy-, grīw, gyān, radn, rōšn, syāw, wyāg, ^uxad, zrēh.

Disyllables: a'i,¹ axšēnd, āžōn, əspāw, əzɡad, burzwār, frēhīft, garān, maran, padgrift, paryāb-, šahrdār, wixas-, ^uxēbē, yazdān, zanag.

Trisyllables: adyāwar, āwaržōg, əstāwišn, ciwāgōn, friyānag, hu-ārām, manuhmed, ramanīg, žamanīn.

The lengths of the complete lines in the two hymn-cycles are as follows:²

Angad Rōšnān

1 line containing	8 syllables
9 lines	9 "
30 "	10 "
31 "	11 "
41 "	12 "
15 "	13 "
7 "	14 "
1 line	16 "

Huwidagmān

2 lines containing	10 syllables
7 "	11 "
14 "	12 "
8 "	13 "
7 "	14 "
2 "	15 "
1 line	16 "
3 lines	17 "

Thus in the cycle *Angad Rōšnān* there is a variation of eight in the minimum and maximum number of syllables, namely from eight to sixteen; and in *Huwidagmān* a variation of seven, from ten to seventeen. Lines of nine syllables are well represented in *Angad Rōšnān*, but are absent from *Huwidagmān*, as are lines of eight

¹ See Henning, *BSOAS*. xiii, p. 643 n. 9.

² A few of these lines have one or two letters restored; and one or two perfect lines have been omitted because they contain unknown words.

syllables. On the other hand, the line of seventeen syllables, relatively well represented in *Huwidagmān*, is not found in the other cycle. A more detailed study of the relative length of the lines and half-lines in the two cycles is set out in the tables below:¹

	<i>Angad Rōšnān</i>	<i>Huwidagmān</i>
Lines counted	135	44
Number of syllables in these lines	1,531	564
Number of syllables in the first half-lines	741	288
Number of syllables in the second half-lines	790	276

The average length of the lines and half-lines is thus as follows:

	<i>Angad Rōšnān</i>	<i>Huwidagmān</i>
Whole line	11.34	12.82
Half-line	5.67	6.41
First half-line	5.49	6.55
Second half-line	5.85	6.27

Thus there are small but definite differences between the cycles in the length of their lines. The average line in *Huwidagmān* is longer by 13 per cent. than that in *Angad Rōšnān*. In the former cycle the first half-line is generally the longer; in the latter the second. If first half-lines only are compared, *Huwidagmān* is on the average longer than *Angad Rōšnān* by 19.3 per cent.—in fact by slightly more than one whole syllable. The differences are slight, and only to be observed over a series of lines; but they are nevertheless significant, since they are consistently maintained throughout the considerable number of extant verses.

There is, however, a minority of lines which, taken by themselves, could belong to either cycle. It is therefore of interest to see whether there are any characteristic differences in the stress-patterns of the two cycles which would distinguish these lines of otherwise common character.²

A study of stress is attended by some difficulties, for the position of stress in Middle Iranian is not yet certain. Henning has adopted as a working hypothesis the principle of stress upon the final syllable within the word, which accords with later Western Iranian practice. The question of which words are to be stressed is often

¹ I am much indebted to Professor Henning for his kindness in helping me to prepare these tables and those on p. 58.

² When Henning drew attention to the fact that the limits of variation in the number of syllables are fixed for each poem, he pointed out that this suggests the existence of 'subtle differences in the structure of the verses'. See *BSOAS.* xiii, p. 645.

simplified by the fact that a poem with, apparently, three stresses to a line will contain many lines with only three words, or with three words and a conjunction or preposition.¹ In such cases it is simple to assign the stress.

Both the *handām* hymn-cycles appear to have four stresses to a line; and fortunately there are in each cycle a considerable number of half-lines containing only two words capable of taking the stress, such as the following examples:

A.R. I 3a	harwīn wigānišn
H. I 1b	šahrdār kirbakkar
A.R. I 22b	ud wārān ud dūd
H. V 1b	ud aḡ dar tārīg

There are other lines where there could be a difference of opinion over the words to be stressed, as for example the following:

A.R. VI 50a	dast nē andāsād wasān
H. I 60a	ud ʰxaš niwāg ramanīg

It is possible, however, to find in simpler half-lines patterns of stress which occur frequently; and tentatively to place the stress accordingly in more complex half-lines.

Each half-line is a separate metrical unit. This fact Henning was able to establish for a Pahlavi poem in which the first half of each line is filled by a recurrent formula.² In the *handām* hymns, similarly, half-lines are sometimes repeated in conjunction with others which differ in structure or length. The following are examples:

A.R. VII 6a	mas awar āsāh o pad šādift abē zarīg
10a	mas awar āsāh o ud mā bawāh frēh
H. IVa 2b	zōnus razmāhīg o kū angōn nē ast
5b	ud aḡ harwīn warm o kū angōn nē ast
H. V 3b	ud hamag purr pad tār o ud nizmān dūdēn
A.R. I 14b	padīd ādur o ud nizmān dūdēn

Each half-line is therefore to be considered separately. In doing

¹ See, e.g., the Middle Persian and Parthian poems stressed tentatively by Henning, *N.G.G.W.*, 1933, p. 318; *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1942, pp. 55–56; and also Henning's remarks on the metre of the Younger Avesta, *ibid.*, p. 53.

² See *BSOAS*, xiii, pp. 641–2.

so I have labelled the four half-lines of a couplet aa and ab; ba and bb.

To compare the half-lines of the two cycles it is necessary to have some way of describing them metrically. For this purpose I have taken four basic patterns, A, B, C, and D, with numbered variants; and have used the symbols + for an unstressed syllable and / for a stressed syllable. The basic patterns are as follows:

- A unstressed + stressed + unstressed + stressed.
 B unstressed + stressed + unstressed + stressed + unstressed.
 C unstressed + stressed + stressed + unstressed.
 D stressed + unstressed + unstressed + stressed.

The unstressed syllables may be increased in each pattern, creating variants. In the following tables the complete half-lines of both cycles¹ are listed together for comparison under the appropriate patterns. Where possible a half-line from each cycle is given in each case as an example.

A

A 1 + / + /

A.R. I 1 aa + / + /
 angad rōšnān

A.R. I 5 aa, 12 ba, 13 ba, 14 aa, ba, 26 aa, 29 ba; Ia 14 aa; II 1 ba; VI 31 ba, 44 bb, 52 ba, 54 aa, 71 ba, 73 ba; VII 1 aa, 2 ba, 3 aa, ab, 20 ba; VIIa 3 ba; VIII 2 aa, 11 ba, 14 ba, 16 bb.

It is notable that this pattern occurs only three times in second half-lines (ab or bb). There are no examples from *Huwīdagmān*.

A 2 + + / + /

A.R. I 1 bb + + / + /
 pad harwīn dāhwān

H. V 1 ab + + / + /
 aǵ hau žafr abnās

A.R. I 12 aa, 14 bb, 15 ab, 16 bb, 17 ba, 18 aa, 20 aa, 22 ba, bb, 23 bb, 29 ab; Ia 4 aa, 8 ab, 12 aa, 13 aa, 14 ba; II 2 aa; VI 42 aa, 43 aa, ab, 49 ab, bb, 53 ab, bb, 55 ba, 57 ba, 61 aa, 62 bb, 63 ba, bb; VII 1 bb, 2 aa, 4 aa, bb, 6 aa, 7 ab, 8 ab, 10 aa, 13 aa, ba, bb, 17 aa, 18 aa, ab, 19 ba, bb, 21 ab, 25 aa, 35 ab, ba, bb; VIIa 1 aa, bb, 11 aa, ab, ba, 13 ab, bb, 14 ab; VIII 1 ba, 2 ab, 3 ba, 4 ba, 13 ba, 14 bb.

H. I 23 bb; V 1 ba, 2 bb, 3 bb, 6 aa, 9 ba, bb, 12 bb; VIc 20 ab.

¹ A number of half-lines have been considered here which were not taken into account previously, because the whole lines are not preserved.

A 3 + + + / + /

A.R. I 12 ab ⁺ ⁺ ^{+/} ^{+/}
ud hau nasāw didan

H. I 22 bb ⁺ ⁺ ^{+/} ^{+/}
pad anāsāg gōnag

A.R. I 13 ab, 14 ab, 24 aa, bb; Ia 2 aa, ab, bb, 3 ba; VI 33 aa, 42 bb, 45 bb, 52 bb, 66 ba, 68 aa; VII 4 ab, 6 bb, 8 ba, bb, 11 ba, bb, 12 ab, ba, 14 ab, bb, 19 aa, 20 aa, 21 ba; VIIa 2 ba; VIII 3 aa.

H. I 34 ab; IVb 1 ab, 2 bb; V 4 ba, 5 ab, bb, 13 aa; VIc 13 bb, 20 bb, 21 bb.

A 4 + + + + / + /

A.R. I 3 ba ⁺ ⁺ ⁺ ^{+/} ^{+/}
čē hawīn tanbār dabgar

H. IVb 3 bb ⁺ ⁺ ^{+/} ^{+/}
čē hawīn narah žafrān

A.R. I 16 ab; VI 55 aa, 65 aa, 69 bb; VII 22 ab; VIIa 12 ba.

A 5 + + + + + / + /

A.R. VI 21 bb ⁺ ⁺ ^{+/} ^{+/}
ud harw bazakkarān əspurr

H. VIc 11 ba ⁺ ⁺ ^{+/} ^{+/}
čē pad hau padmōjēd šādift

H. VIc 11 bb.

A 6 + / + + /

A.R. I 2 bb ⁺ ^{+/} ^{+/}
madyān dušmanīn

H. I 1 ba ⁺ ^{+/} ^{+/}
šahrdār kirbakkar

A.R. I 3 aa, ab, 15 bb, 18 ba, 23 aa, ba, 26 ba, 29 bb, 30 ab; Ia 2 ba; VI 21 ab, 44 ab, 52 aa, 53 ba, 54 ba, bb, 58 ba, 64 ba, 65 bb, 67 bb, 68 bb, 69 ab, 70 bb, 72 aa, ba; VII 1 ab, 5 bb, 9 ab, 10 ab, 13 ab, 14 aa, ba, 17 ba, 18 ba, 19 ab, 23 aa, 24 aa, 26 ab; VIIa 2 aa, bb, 3 aa, 4 bb; VIII 11 ab, 12 ba, 14 aa, 15 aa, ab, 16 aa.

H. I 61 bb; IVb 1 aa; V 5 ba, 10 aa, 12 ab, 20 ab; VIc 4 bb, 14 bb; VIIa 3 ba.

A 7 + / + + + /

A.R. I 24 ab ⁺ ^{+/} ^{+/} ^{+/}
pad warm sar abraštag

H. I 28 aa ^{+/} ^{+/} ^{+/}
wušēnd ud anjūgift

A.R. Ia 8 bb, 13 bb; VI 32 ba, 51 aa, 52 ab, 55 ab, 57 bb, 62 ab, 73 ab; VII 22 ba, 27 ba; VIIa 4 ba; VIII 12 aa, ab.

H. I 32 bb, 51 ba; V 3 aa, 4 ab, bb, 6 ba, 9 aa, 10 ba, 13 ba.

A 8 + / + + + /

A.R. I 27 bb ^{+ / + + + + /} amwašt bawēnd pad āšōb

H. VIc 12 ab ^{+ / + + + + /} dēdēm au hawīn bandēd

A.R. VI 53 aa, 63 aa; VII 3 ba, 7 bb, 20 bb; VIIa 2 ab, 14 ba; VIII 13 aa.

H. I 23 ab; V 1 aa.

A 9 + + / + + /

A.R. I 1 ab ^{++ / + + /} friyānag pad axšad

H. I 7 ab ^{+ + / + + /} awištēnd yāwēdān

A.R. I 3 bb, 12 bb, 13 aa, 19 bb, 20 ba, 23 ab, 24 ba; Ia 3 aa, ab, 4 ab, 14 bb; VI 22 ab, 32 aa, 43 bb, 50 bb, 54 ab, 56 aa, ab, 61 bb, 62 aa, ba, 66 bb, 67 ba, 73 aa, bb; VII 2 ab, bb, 5 ba, 7 ba, 8 aa, 9 aa, 12 bb, 15 ba, 17 ab, bb, 20 ab, 21 bb, 22 aa, bb, 23 ba, 25 bb, 31 ab; VIIa 3 ab, 4 aa, ab, 12 bb, 14 bb; VIII 11 bb, 12 bb, 13 bb.

H. I 23 ba, 32 aa, ba, 33 ab; IVb 2 aa, ab, 3 aa; V 1 bb, 2 aa, ab, 3 ba, 4 aa, 10 bb, 12 aa; VIc 1 aa, 10 aa, 11 ab, 12 ba, 13 ba, 21 ab; VIIa 1 aa, 2 ba.

A 10 + + + / + + /

A.R. I 19 ab ^{+ + + / + + /} čiwāgōn zrēh ādurēn

H. I 22 aa ^{+ + + / + + /} hawīn pusag zargōnag

A.R. VI 51 bb, 56 bb, 61 ab, ba, 66 aa, 67 aa, ab, 69 ba, 72 ab; VII 3 bb, 5 ab, 6 ba, 7 aa, 11 ab, 18 bb, 21 aa, 23 bb, 25 ba; VIIa 1 ba.

H. I 7 aa, 60 ab; IVb 1 ba, bb, 3 ab; V 5 aa, 6 ab, 12 ba; VIc 1 ab, ba, bb, 2 aa, ba, 3 aa, ab, 4 aa, ba, 12 bb, 14 ba; VIIa 2 aa, 3 aa.

A 11 + + + + / + + /

A.R. VI 42 ab ^{+ + + + / + + /} man nīsāg čihrag hujihrift

VII 10 bb ^{+ + + + / + + /} čē pad harw zanag wiganēd

H. VIc 14 aa ^{+ + + + / + + /} ud padixšāhēnd pad šādift

There are no other examples.

A 12 + + + + + / + + /

H. VIc 14 ab ^{+ + + + + / + +} čiwāgōn abar nām būd paštag

This is the only example.

A 13 + + / + + + /

A.R. I 2 ab ^{+ + / + + + /} winārāh um padwājāh

H. I 1 ab ^{+ + / + + + /} ud padgrift tau wijīhišn

A.R. I 18 ab, 19 aa; Ia 1 aa; VI 31 aa, 57 ab, 64 bb, 68 ab, 70 ab;
VII 6 ab, 9 ba, 11 aa, 23 ab, 26 bb; VIIa 1 ab, 11 bb, 13 aa; VIII 4 aa.

H. I 22 ab, ba, 23 aa, 24 aa; VIc 3 ba, 11 aa, 22 ab; VIIa 1 ba.

A 14 + + / + + + + /

A.R. VI 71 bb ^{+ + / + + + + /} ud bagān padīšfarāwand

H. IVb 3 ba ^{+ + / + + + + /} kū xāzād nē bawān pad tang

These are the only examples.

A 15 + + / + + + + + + /

H. I 1 aa ^{+ + / + + + + + /} huwīdagmān čē pad tau frawadād

This is the only example.

A 16 + + + / + + + /

A.R. VII 12 aa ^{+ + + / + + + /} ud wizmarēd ud wizawēd

H. V 2 ba ^{+ + + / + + + /} ud hufrayād ud adyāwar

A.R. I 1 ba.

H. I 32 ab; VIc 12 aa, 13 aa.

A 17 + + + + / + + + /

H. I 1 bb ^{+ + + + / + + + + /} kar abar amāh axšadāgift

VIc 13 ab ^{+ + + + / + + + + /} ud wijīdagān kirbakkarān

These are the only examples.

A 18 + + + / + + + + /

A.R. VI 56 ba ^{+ + + + / + + + + /} ud būd āgas ud padixšāhād

There are no examples from *Huwīdagmān*.

B

In this pattern there is an unstressed syllable (or two) after the second stressed syllable. It appears to be a general rule that an unstressed syllable (or syllables) occurs at the end of the line

only if the second stressed syllable is the final syllable of a past participle, and if what follows is enclitic to the past participle.

- A.R. VI 64 aa + / + / +
ud az āgad hēm
- VII 4 ba + / + + / ++
ud ^uxad winawād a'i
- VIII 1 bb + + + / + / +
au əskarfišn nihaxt hēm

There are no examples in *Huwidagmān*.

C

C 1. The two stresses are together within the half-line.

- A.R. Ia 13 ba + / / + +
ud sard būd ahēnd
- VI 45 bb + + + + + / ++
kū pad hawīn nixāb šud a'i
- 55 bb ++ / / ++
ušān rōšn būd a'i
- VII 1 ba + / / + +
maran kaft ahāz

There are no examples in *Huwidagmān*.

C 2. The two stresses are together at the end of the half-line.

- A.R. I 27 aa + + / /
ud harwīn drafš
- VI 69 aa + + + / /
ud hau rōšnān mād
- VII 5 aa + + / /
ud harwīn tang
- 15 aa + / /
a'j ēd frāj
- 36 aa + + / /
ud hamag wāy
- H. VIc 4 ab + + + / /
ud əzyāhāh rōšn

D

The stresses are on the first and last syllables in the half-line.

- D 1 / + + /
- A.R. I 4 aa / + + /
tū friyānag
- VII 10 ba / + + /
im hujihrift
- 36 ba / + + /
^uxad padmōjēnd

H.	V	6 bb	/ + + / tang čē dōžax
	VIc	10 ba	/ + + / burz ud kalān
D 2	/	+ + +	/
A.R.	Ia	14 ab	/ + + + / bast ahēnd pad tars
	VI	51 ab	/ + + + / sar čē man fragāw
		66 ab	/ + + + / bar pad harw asmān
		72 bb	/ + + + / tang ud axšādīft
H.	V	3 ab	/ + + + / drōd andar nē ast
D 3	/	+ + + +	/
A.R.	VIII	13 ab	/ + + + + / gyān wēnāh nidāmag
H.	V	9 ab	/ + + + + / žad bawēnd pad žafrān
D 4	/	+ + + + +	/
A.R.	VI	50 ab	/ + + + + + / dast nē andāsād wasān

There are finally a few half-lines in *Angad Rōšnān* which are outside this scheme, for they contain only one word capable of bearing a stress. We have therefore to infer either that occasionally one word bore two main stresses, or that a few lines had only three instead of four stresses. These half-lines are given below:

A.R.	I	27 ba	ud əstūnān
		29 aa	ud nāwāzān
	VI	51 ba	ud murgārīd
		63 ab	čē burzwār
	VIIa	14 aa	ud āgust a'i
	VIII	11 aa	ud əzwartēnd

In the following two examples *wasnād* presumably receives a stress, as in A.R. VI 61 aa (A 2), and 62 aa (A 9):

A.R.	I	21 ba	wasnād āšōb
	VI	57 aa	ud tau wasnād

No such half-lines are found in *Huwidagmān*; but they occur in other poems which appear to have in general four stresses to a line.¹

¹ See, e.g., M 763 (Henning, *BSOAS*. xiii, p. 646), in which 1 ab, 4 ba, 6 aa, ba, ab, bb, and 11 ba contain only one word which can be stressed.

In both hymn-cycles there are a number of lines whose two halves are of the same pattern. These are set out below, with illustrations from each cycle:

A.R. I 3 a harwīn wigānišn o aḡ man widārāh (A 6)

VI 43 a az au tau bōžān o aḡ harwīn abnās (A 2)

H. IVb 1 b ud pad hawān ud abnās o harw zāwarān wiganēnd (A 10)

VIc 11 b čē pad hau padmōjēd šādīft o ud šahrdārīft
dēdēm bandēd (A 5)

A.R. I 22 b (A 2); *Ia* 2 a (A 3), 3 a (A 9); *VI* 54 b (A 6), 63 b (A 2), 67 a (A 10); *VII* 3 a (A 1), 8 b (A 3), 11 b (A 3), 13 b (A 2), 18 a (A 2), 19 b (A 2), 35 b (A 2); *VIIa* 4 a (A 9), 11 a (A 2); *VIII* 12 a (A 7), 15 a (A 6).

H. IVb 2 a (A 9); *V* 2 a (A 9), 9 b (A 2); *VIc* 1 b (A 10), 3 a (A 10).

Only half-lines of A-pattern are thus combined; but several variants of the A-pattern, both short and long, are used together.

It occurs much more rarely that three out of the four lines in a verse are of the same pattern. There are only five instances of this:

A.R. Ia 2 ud winawād harw karm o ud axtarān āyušt
ud harw astārag o xēbē čamag waxrēd

VII 13 mas āsāh tū gyān o ud mā bawāh frēh
žamanīn əšmār o ud kambīg rōjān

VII 35 [bas](t) bawēnd sāgān o čē grīwān murdag
pad maran dahmag o čē harwīn syāwīft

VIIa 11 [ud] bawāh šādzird o pad im rōž əzgām
[čē] absist yōbahr o ud harwīn tau audažan

H. VIc 1 az pad zōš əstānān o ud frawazān pad bāzur
abar aḡ harw zāwarān o ud axšēndān wistambag

There is no instance, however, of a symmetrical verse consisting of four half-lines of the same pattern. Sometimes the two lines of a

verse are of the same length, but this is the result of a combination of different patterns in each. These verses are given below, under the number of syllables contained in each of their equal lines:

Nine syllables:	<i>A.R.</i> I 29; VIII 14.
Ten „	<i>A.R.</i> VI 54, 63; VII 13.
Eleven „	<i>A.R.</i> VI 51, 57; VII 5, 14, 17; <i>H.</i> V 3.
Twelve „	<i>A.R.</i> I 24; VI 64, 66; VII 21; VIIa 1; <i>H.</i> V 4; VIc 44.

These evenly balanced verses are not common; and it is a striking fact that in *Angad Rōšnān* only lines of from nine to twelve syllables are thus combined, and in *Huwidagmān* only those of from eleven to twelve. Very heavy or very light verses are thus avoided in both cycles. On the other hand, very short and very long lines are sometimes combined in one verse, perhaps in order to compensate one for the other. The following example is the most striking:

<i>A.R.</i> VII 3 a	āsāh tū gyān o ud frāj čāmāh	4+4 = 8
b	ud mā bawāh āwaržōg o abar kadag dižwārīft	7+7 = 14

In these other instances also the difference in length between the lines is marked:

<i>A.R.</i> VI 56a	ud pad tau bast dēdēm o au harwīn dušmanīn	6+6 = 12
b	ud būd āgas ud padixšāhād o pad žamanīn axšēndīft	9+7 = 16
67a	ud əstānān pad zāwar o ud nigundān pad frəhīft	7+7 = 14
b	ud wāyān au padišt o au wyāg āfrīdag	6+5 = 11
69a	ud hau rōšnān mād o au tau nimāyān	5+5 = 10
b	ud yāwēdān wišmanāh o pad əstāwādag šādīft	7+7 = 14
<i>H.</i> I 23a	garānīft ud ambāhag o nē ast pad hawīn tanbār	7+7 = 14
b	ud wigān nē ahāz o pad harwīn handām	6+5 = 11
IVb 1a	imīn frabadēnd o abar harwīn dēsmān	5+6 = 11
b	ud pad hawān ud abnās o harw zāwarān wiganēnd	7+7 = 14
VIc 13a	ud au harwīn dēnābarān o ud wiḡīdagān kirbakkarān	8+9 = 17
b	padmōjēd əstāwišn o ušān dēdēm bandēd	6+6 = 12

cycle. The same is true of the half-lines with apparently a single stress. Thus the differences in stress-pattern increase the certainty with which one can tell a run of verses of *Huwidagmān* from a run of verses of *Angad Rōšnān*; but there are still many individual lines which are not distinguished in any of the ways discovered by the above analysis.

This fact limits the usefulness of the metrical differences for the purpose of textual reconstruction; for few of the fragments whose allocation is doubtful have enough verses with complete lines for these differences to be apparent. The two fragments T II D 178 II and III both contain, however, a series of perfectly preserved verses.¹ They have been assigned, on various grounds, to different cycles; and it was therefore a matter of considerable interest subsequently to study their metres. T II D 178 II had been assigned to *Huwidagmān*, T II D 178 III to *Angad Rōšnān*. A detailed study of the length of their lines yielded the following results:

<i>Average length</i>	<i>T II D 178 II</i>	<i>T II D 178 III</i>
First half-line . . .	6.25	5.21
Second half-line . . .	6.15	5.67
Whole line	12.40	10.88

The average length of the whole lines in each fragment is slightly shorter than that established as the average for each cycle as a whole; but the relative differences between the two fragments are roughly the same as the relative differences between the two cycles. Thus in T II D 178 II the first half-line is a little longer than the second; in T II D 178 III the second half-line is longer by a little more than the first. The first half-line of T II D 178 II is about a syllable longer than the first half-line of T II D 178 III; and the whole line of T II D 178 II is about a syllable and a half longer than the whole line of T II D 178 III. This is an interesting confirmation of the general distinctions discovered between the cycles.

Furthermore, the fragment T II D 178 III, assigned to *Angad Rōšnān*, contains two half-lines with A1-stress. These are as follows:

A.R. VI 2 aa + / + /
 um dīd dīdan

5 ba + / + /
 ud harw čihrag

¹ These two fragments have not been included in the material hitherto considered.

The second example is combined with a half-line of five syllables:

5 bb ud yud āwendag

The result is a line of nine syllables, which is of a type peculiar to *Angad Rōšnān*. There is, moreover, a line with C1-stress, which again is a stress-pattern unknown in *Huwīdagmān*:

A.R. VI 1 aa ⁺ud ⁺ka ⁺d [/]imīn [/]wāxtum ⁺

Thus the metrical distinctions strongly reinforce each other, and confirm the allocation of the two fragments; and this in turn is a valuable confirmation of the soundness of the general scheme of differences between the two cycles.

THE TEXTS

THE TEXTS

MANY of the fragments reproduced below share a common signature, such as T I a or T I D. In his private collection of photographs Professor Henning has sought to differentiate these by numbers or other indications. Thus in his lettering 'T I D (3 p.) a' indicates a fragment which is one of three pieces with the signature T I D mounted together in the Berlin Academy. These additional indications are invaluable for reference, but result in a necessarily clumsy signature. For convenience, therefore, all fragments except those with the signature 'M+ a number' have been given new signatures here, consisting of letters of the alphabet. The fragments with 'M+ a number' are indicated in the text by the number alone. There follows a list of all the fragments here reproduced, under their original signatures (together with any additional indications of Professor Henning's)¹; beside these are set their new signatures (if any); and their allotted positions either within one of the hymn-cycles or within the group of fragments at the end. *H.* = *Huwīdagmān*, *A.R.* = *Angad Rōšnān*, *Fr.* = *Fragment*. Both sets of signatures are in alphabetical (and numerical) order.

In the reproduction of the text the margin carries beside each line the signatures of all the fragments in which that line—or any part of it—is preserved, together with R or V by the signatures to indicate recto or verso page. The text is a highly composite one; but the number of fragments involved has made it impossible always to show, without an over-cumbersome apparatus, in exactly which fragment each word occurs; and even in places where fragments are few it has not seemed necessary to attempt this when the text presents no problems. But wherever interesting words or constructions, unusual spellings, or doubtful readings occur, an effort has been made to show clearly the precise nature of the manuscript evidence.

<i>Original signature</i>	<i>Assignment</i>	<i>Original signature</i>	<i>Assignment</i>
M 88 I	<i>A.R.</i> VI	M 93 I	<i>H.</i> I
89	<i>A.R.</i> VIII	93 II	<i>H.</i> VIc
91	<i>A.R.</i> VI-VII	96	<i>A.R.</i> VI

¹ During the printing the fragments have been renumbered in agreement with Professor Henning and Dr. Lentz; the new numbers have been added in square brackets.

<i>Original signature</i>	<i>Assignment</i>
M 175	A.R. VI-VII
233 V	H. I
256 R	*H. VIIIa
256 V	A.R. I
287	A.R. VII
289a	H. VIc
326	A.R. VI
439	A.R. VII
449b	Fr. D
459a	A.R. VII
489a	A.R. VII
489b	H. Vb
502 α,b	H. VIb
502 β,a	*H. VIII
503 α,c	Fr. O
517	A.R. VII
518	A.R. Ia
578	A.R. VII
588	*H. VII
603	H. I
620	A.R. VIIa

<i>Original signature</i>	<i>Assignment</i>
M 625b	H. I
667	A.R. VIIa
673	A.R. I
675	A.R. VI
689	*H. VIII
690	A.R. VII
698	Fr. L
774	A.R. VII
780	A.R. I
815	A.R. Ia
817	A.R. VII
831	A.R. I
855 R	*H. VIIIa
855 V	A.R. I
858e	H. V
859	Fr. A
863	A.R. II
871f	*H. VII
889	A.R. I
895a	H. V
918a	A.R. VIIa

Original signature [and new number]

T I α (+M 287) [1223]

1530 I
 1530 II
 1531 I
 1531 II
 1532 I
 1532 II
 1533 I
 1533 II
 1534 I
 1534 II
 1535 I
 1535 II
 1536 I
 1536 II
 1537 I
 1537 II
 1538 I

New signature Assignment

aa A.R. VII
 ad A.R. IV
 ae A.R. IV
 af A.R. IV
 ag A.R. IV
 ah A.R. III
 ai A.R. V
 aj A.R. III
 ak A.R. V
 al A.R. III
 am A.R. V
 an A.R. IIa-III
 ao A.R. V-VI
 ap A.R. IIa
 aq A.R. VI
 ar A.R. IIa
 as A.R. VI
 at A.R. I-IIa

<i>Original signature [and new number]</i>	<i>New signature</i>	<i>Assignment</i>
T I α 1538 II	au	A.R. VI
1539 I	av	A.R. I
1539 II	aw	A.R. VII
1540 I	ax	A.R. I
1540 II	ay	A.R. VII
1541 I	az	Fr. E
1541 II	ba	Fr. F
1542 I	bb	Fr. G
1542 II	bc	Fr. J
1543	bd	Fr. K
1544	be	*H. IVa
T I D (1 p.) [1838]	bh	A.R. VI
(3 p.) a [1892]	bi	A.R. I
(3 p.) b [1890]	bj	*A.R. Ib
(3 p.) c [1891]	bk	Fr. C
(5 p.) d [1953]	bl	H. VIb
(9 p.) g [2206]	bm	A.R. V-VI
(10 p.) j [2339]	bn	*H. Va
(12 p.) h [2457]	bp	*A.R. IIIa
(12 p.) i [2458]	bq	H. V
8 (11 p.) b [2412]	br	*H. IVa
11 (7 p.) a [2078]	bs	Fr. M
16 (9 p.) c [2220]	bu	H. V
16 (9 p.) g [2224]	bv	H. V
27 (10 p.) e [2306]	by	H. I
T I D 51 (+M 620) [2604]	bz	A.R. VIIa
(+M 780) [2600]	ca	Fr. B
(+TI α, 6p., i) a [1663]	cb	H. I
(+TI α, 6p., i) f [1668]	cd	Fr. P
(+TI α, 6p., ii) e [1673]	cg	*A.R. IIIb
(3 p.) b [2751]	ch	*H. VIII
(5 p.) b [2851]	ck	H. I
(9 p.) b [3121]	cl	H. V
α (2 p.) b [2701]	co	*A.R. IIIb
T II D 52 (+T II D 66, 5 p.) d [4727]	cp	Fr. N
52 (23 p.) a R [4900]	cr	Fr. Q
52 (23 p.) a V [4900]	cs	A.R. I
57 [4970]	ct	H. VIc
66 ^r [5263]	cu	*H. VII
67 (12 p.) a [5350]	cw	H. V
67 (12 p.) j [5359]	cx	A.R. VIII
75 [5503]	db	A.R. VI

<i>Original signature [and new number]</i>	<i>New signature</i>	<i>Assignment</i>
T II D 77 ² (5 p.) c [5540]	dc	*H. III-IV
79 (1 p.) [5570]	dd	A.R. I
79 (3 p.) a [5586]	de	*A.R. IIIc
79 (3 p.) b [5587]	df	H. I
137 ² [5846]	dg	H. VIb
140 [5930]	dh	A.R. I
167 (10 p.) a [6130]	di	H. I
167 (10 p.) b [6131]	dj	H. I
167 (10 p.) j [6139]	dk	H. VIb
178 I [6220]	dl	H. IVb-V
178 II [6221]	dm	*H. IVa
178 III [6222]	dn	A.R. VI
178 IV [6223]	do	H. VIa
178 VIa [6240]	dp	A.R. VI
178 VIIa [6242]	dq	A.R. VI
178 IXb [6260]	dt	A.R. I
178 IXf [6264]	du	A.R. I
178 IXg [6265]	dv	A.R. VII
178 IXj [6266]	dw	A.R. I
178 β, a [6238]	dx	A.R. I
T II K (5 p.) e [6729]	ea	H. V
T II K II (15 p.) n [6943]	ed	A.R. I
T III D 280 [8285]	ee	A.R. VIIa
x [8801]	ef ¹	A.R. VI-VII

The following conventions and abbreviations are used in the reproduction of the texts:

(bcd) = damaged letters, or uncertain readings.

[bcd] = suggested restoration of missing letters.

(...) = visible, but illegible letters.

[...] = estimated number of missing letters.

[] = a lacuna of undetermined extent. When an entire half-line is missing, this is indicated by a series of dots.

In the translation parentheses are used for explanatory additional words. In the notes H. = Henning, L. = Lentz.

¹ The fragments bh and ef were identified, from among recently acquired material during printing. They are not mentioned in the introduction.

Huwīdagmān I

233 R+V+625b R

nys'r'd hwydgm'n¹

93 I R

nxwyn hnd'm

93 I V

hwydgm'n

233 V+625b R

1a hwydgm'n cy pd tw frwd'd o

u pdgryft tw wcyhyšn²

233 V+625b R

b šhrd'r kyrbkr³ o

kr⁴ 'br 'm'h⁵ 'xšd'gyft⁶

233 V+625b R

2a [fry]št[g] cy [pydr o]

(kr)y(d) gy'n'n drwšt

233 V

b ['w hrwyn dh]yd (š'd)yft [o]

'zgyrwyd 'nd['g]⁷

233 V

3a [](sys)[]

.

233 V

b [hw] (d)w z['wr o]⁸

.

233 V

4a [bwrz⁸ 'wd 'by wy](m)nd o

pd (h)[w kd'c t'r ny 'st]

(One verse missing)

625b V

6a [nxšg hrwyn m]'(nys)t'n [o]

['wd 'r'm

625b V

b cy wyš[mnynd pd r]wšn o

'wt⁹ drd ny z'n[ynd]⁹

¹ -m'[n] 625b

² wcyhyšn written at the beginning of 1b in 233, and followed by a dot. In 625b the verses are written in interspaced groups of three lines

³ qyrbq[r] 625b

⁴ qr 625b

⁵ 'm' 233

⁶ written -gft

with two dots under the f in 233; 'x[625b

⁷ H.'s readings, in the light

of the Chinese, throughout the verse (see BSOAS. xi, p. 218). Two doubtful letters only are preserved on 625b

⁸ H.'s restoration

⁹ H.'s readings

and restorations throughout the verse (except for the first two words in 6a); see loc. cit.

Huwiḍagmān I

Begun (is) *Huwiḍagmān*
First canto of *Huwiḍagmān*¹

- 1 (It was) fortunate for us that through thee we knew
and accepted thy teachings. Beneficent Sovereign,
show mercy to us.²
- 2 The Envoy of [the Father (?)³] heals spirits, gives joy
[to all], and removes sorrows (?).
- 3 (*Traces only are legible.*)⁴
- 4 [Lofty and] limitless, where [Darkness never comes]

...

(*One verse missing*)

- 6 [All] the monasteries [are magnificent,⁵ and] the . . .
dwelling places. For they are happy [in] the Light and
know no pain.⁶

¹ A complete translation of this canto is preserved in the Chinese *Hymnscroll* (see Henning, *BSOAS*. xi, p. 217). In this the Parthian verses of two lines are rendered by Chinese ones of four, of which the second and fourth rhyme. Sometimes the sense of the original appears to have been altered slightly for the sake of the rhyme. The Chinese is itself obscure, and is considered by Dr. Waley to lack any poetic merit. The whole of this very difficult text was translated by Mr. Tsui Chi (see *BSOAS*. xi, pp. 199–208); and Dr. Waley has most kindly re-examined those verses for which the Parthian is now known. His elucidations are given here (in my words), with the indication (W.).

² Henning's translation (with minor changes); see *op. cit.*, p. 218. The Chinese contains several Buddhist technical terms: i.e. the word rendered by Tsui Chi as 'of superior form' represents Skt. *lakṣaṇa*-; 'clear speeches' represents Skt. *vikalpa*-, and 'deeds' Skt. *karman*- (W.).

³ Before the word for 'Father' the Chinese has a character, *mêng*, usually used as a surname, but occasionally as an adjective meaning 'dark(ened), obscure' (W.). Possibly this adjective renders the idea expressed elsewhere by Pa. *ngwstg* 'hidden' (see Henning, *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1944, p. 113 n.1), although to equate *mêng* with *ngwstg* is evidently to force its meaning.

⁴ The word rendered by Tsui Chi as 'worries and afflictions' in 3c represents Skt. *kleśa*- (W.).

⁵ The word translated as 'solemn' by Tsui Chi is a taboo-substitute for one meaning 'adorned, magnificent' (W.).

⁶ Henning's translation (*loc. cit.*) except for the words supplied. The phrase rendered by Tsui Chi as 'to say . . . is not true' (6d and *passim*) means rather that the situation is one which cannot logically exist. It occurs commonly in the *Nirvāṇa* and other Sūtras (W.).

625b V 7a 'wd hrw ky 'wwd 'dyhyn[d o]
[']wyštynd y'wyd'n

625b V b 'wš'[n kd'c ny] trwyd¹
ny j[xm] u dyjw'r²

625b V 8a [] cy []
.

(Ten verses missing)

603 R 18a [pdmwcn cy pdmwcynd o]
[kyc ny] (q)yrd pd ds(t)

603 R b [hmyw pw'g 'wd nys'g o]
['wd mr]w³ pd hwyn ny 's[t]

603 R 19a
'wd nys['g]

(Two verses missing)

93 I R 22a hwyn pwsg zrgwng o
y'wyd'n ny wmysy(d)

93 I R b 'wd 'm(y')st⁴ pd nys'gyft o
pd 'n's'g gwng

93 I R 23a gr'nyft 'w[d] 'mb'hg o
ny 'st pd hwyn (t)[nb'r]⁵

93 I R b 'wd wyg'n ny 'h'z
pd hrwyn hnd['m]⁶

93 I R 24a gr'n xwmr 'br hwyn⁷
gryw'n ny g[yrwyd]⁶

93 I R b 'wd xw(mr) d(r)'w'ng⁸ o
u wdybyšn [pd hwyn ny 'st]⁶

¹ The MS. has no punctuation-point throughout the verse; see loc. cit.
hesitates between *mrw and *mwrv
'm(b)st
The MS. has no punctuation-point
misprint

² H.'s readings and restorations
³ Restoration suggested by H., who
⁴ H.'s new reading in preference to
⁵ H.'s restoration
⁶ H.'s restoration
⁷ The
⁸ sic; dr'wng (BSOAS. xi, p. 218) is a

7 All who enter¹ there, stay for eternity. [Neither] blows nor torture [ever] overcome them.²

8 (*Traces only are legible*)³

(*Ten verses missing*)

18 [The clothes⁴ which they wear none] has made by hand.⁵ [They are ever clean and bright, and] no ants (?) are in them.

19 (*Traces only are legible*)

(*Two verses missing*)

22 Their verdant garlands never fade; they are wreathed brightly, in numberless colours.⁶

23 Heaviness and drooping do not exist in their bodies. Paralysis does not affect any of (their) limbs.⁷

24 Heavy sleep never overtakes their souls. Deceptive dreams and delusions⁸ [are unknown among them].⁹

¹ The Chinese also has 'goes to' (mistranslated as 'lives' by Tsui Chi) (W.). The fourth line of the Chinese verse should be translated 'there is never a case of ...' (not 'cause for') (W.).

² Henning's translation (loc. cit.).

³ The fourth line of the Chinese should be translated 'to say one person attacks another is not true' (W.).

⁴ The adjective for 'clothes' in the Chinese is *ming* (famous), which throughout the Chinese text is written for *ming* (light) (W.).

⁵ Cf. M 178, 14-18 (see H., *BSOAS*. xii, p. 307).

⁶ Henning's translation (loc. cit.). The literal translation of the Chinese is as follows:

a) The flowery headdresses are halcyon-blue, wonderfully adorned,

b) shining on each other only fresh and never fading or falling,

c) [as Tsui Chi's translation]

d) wonderful colours, inexhaustible, not thinning or diminishing.' (W.)

⁷ Henning's translation (loc. cit.) with minor changes. The word 'paralysis' has been used by Prof. Henning to render Pa. *wyḡ'n* in 23b; it has no connexion with the incorrect use of the same word by Tsui Chi to translate the Chinese rendering of 23a, which is literally 'Their hands and feet, limbs and joints have no impediment or blocking up' (W.). The last expression has little meaning in the context, and may have been used simply for the rhyme. The terms in 23c translated by Tsui Chi as 'active works of life and death' render Skt. *saṃskṛta-* and *jarāmaraṇa-* (W.).

⁸ The Chinese word translated by Tsui Chi as 'whim' in 24c renders Skt. *viparīta-* 'topsy-turvy; perverse'. The third line of the Chinese verse runs literally 'already no dream-imaginings or delusions' (W.).

⁹ Henning's translation, with minor changes; for *dr'w'ng* see glossary.

93 I R 25a ['wd fr'mw]štyft¹ n[y 'st o]
pd hw[yn 'ndyšyšn]

93 I R b [](n)[. .]w[o]
[hrw] (c)[y] ngws[tg 'štyd]

93 I R 26a [](.w)d '[. .]² o
(u) db[³]

93 I R b []s [o]
(. .) ryg []

(One verse missing)

603 V+dj R 28a (w)šynd⁴ 'wd 'njwgyft⁵ o
ny (')[st pd hw zmyg]

603 V+dj R b (')wd (ny) tšyndyft⁶ o
c(y) []

603 V+dj R 29a ['b] cy hrwyn zryh'n⁷ o
frbwy(d)⁷ ['škyft]

dj R b [hynw'r u n](x)'b⁸ o
hmgyc [pd hwyn ny 'st]

(Two verses missing)

93 I V 32a ['c]¹ wrwc 'sk'dr o
hwyn cmg tyrgystr

93 I V b [pd]¹ tnb'r cy d'rynd o
ywbhr 'ndr ny 'st

93 I V 33a [...]yg prxyzyšn o
cy hrwyn z'wr'n

93 I V b [....]byd hwyn ny 'st
ny rf u zmbq

93 I V 34a ['wd tr](s)¹ u 'sp'w o
pd hwyn wy'g ny 'st

93 I V b u⁹ [....p]d hwyn zmyg o
wyg'n pd hwyn ny 'st

¹ H.'s restoration

² The (w) is not the beginning of a word; there is enough space between *d* and ' to make it uncertain whether or not they belong to the same word

³ It cannot be seen whether this is a complete word or not

⁴ In 603 only

⁵ In dj; 'n(j)[603

⁶ tšyndy(f)[603;

]dyft dj

⁷ In dj only

⁸ *k* or *x* certain

⁹ *u* written after a dot at

the end of 34a

25 [There is no forget]fulness in [their thoughts] . . .
[They see . . . all that is] hidden (?)¹

26 . . . deceit² . . .

(*One verse missing*)

28 Hunger and anguish (are) not [known in that land].
(There is) no thirst, for . . .³

29 [The waters] of all (its) lakes give out a [wondrous]
fragrance. [Floods and] drowning are never [known
among them].⁴

(*Two verses missing*)

32 Their walk is quicker by far than lightning.⁵ In the
bodies they possess, there is no sickness.⁶

33 The . . . activities of all (Dark) Powers⁷ . . . are not in
them, nor attacks and battles.⁶

34 Fear and terror do not exist in those places,⁸ and . . .
in those lands there is no destruction.⁶

¹ The first line of the Chinese runs: 'The community of saints are always enlightened and with wonderful wisdom'. 'Wisdom' was written in the T'ang period with a character now used for 'kindness' (correctly translated by Waldschmidt; see W.-L. ii, p. 517 n. to 135b). In the second line there is an illegible character before the word 'forget'. The third and fourth run: 'of limitless worlds, the marks of all things, they see as if standing in front of a bright mirror' (W.).

² In the Chinese the second line is: 'pretending and deceit, emptiness, are naturally not theirs'. There is no word for 'affectation' (W.).

³ The Chinese of 28 is as follows:

'a) The fire of hunger and the distress of heat
b) are all absent from the World of Light where happiness prevails,
c) for ever free from hunger and thirst, and from mutually injuring one another,
d) there also there are no salty, bitter waters.' (W.)

⁴ The Chinese of 29 is as follows:

'a) The hundred rivers and seas and springs,
b) waters of life, all clear to the bottom, with a fragrance that is marvelous,
c) if you enter, you will not drift away and be drowned,
d) also (there are) no violent waters (i.e. floods) coming to cause destruction.' (W.)

⁵ The Chinese also has lightning (rendered as thunderbolt by Tsui Chi) (W.).

⁶ Henning's translation (loc. cit.).

⁷ *z'wr'n* is used in the hymn-cycles exclusively for the dark powers. It is rendered here simply by the Chinese word for 'devils'.

⁸ Cf. M 178 42-43 (loc. cit.).

- 93 I V 35a [](.)wd '(d)[o]
 [d'l](w)g¹ ny wš'nynd
- 93 I V b [](y) sry(.)²[o]
 [] hrwyn mygdg
- 93 I V 36a [sy']ryft³ o
 [pd hw]yn b(')[r⁴ ny 'st]
- 93 I V b [hmg pwr rwšn]yft³ o
 ['c] by[h 'wd 'c 'ndr]
- (One verse missing)
- dj V 38a ['wd hrwyn bwdyst](')n o
 frbwynd kw[]
- dj V b [hyštyg 'wd 'skd³]
 [hm](g)yc pd (h)[wyn ny 'st]
- dj V 39a [hmg hw zmyg](o)
 br'zyd (')wd prw[]
- dj V b ['bgw]st (o)
 (mdy)['](n) hwyn []
- (Eight verses missing)
- by R 48a [hrw ky] 'br hwy[n] zmyg o
 snyd u z['nyd]
- by R b ['st'wyd 'w h](w) dydn o
 'st'[w'd]g u kyrb[kr]
- by R 49a [s'yg³ t'ryg n]y 'st (o)
 'w hrw ky m(d)y('n) (..)[]
- by R b [hrw tnb']r u dydn o
 cy [']br (hw) zmyg (')[spyxt]³
- di R 50a ['w]š'n šhrd'(r)[yft o]

- di R b u jfr'n cy (h)[w zmyg o]
 [wymnd 'w hw ny 'st]³

¹](w)g almost certain; but it is just possible that the (w) might be the second part of an ' ² sry clear, and the preceding (y) almost certain. The word-division is doubtful ³ Restoration suggested by H. ⁴ The first part of the (') alone is visible; a dot which perhaps belongs to a succeeding r appears over the gap which follows

35 . . . the trees (?) do not shake down . . . all the fruits.¹

36 . . . decay (?) [does not exist in] their fruit.² [Within and] without [it is all full of brightness].

(*One verse missing*)

38 [All the gardens] give out fragrance, so that (?) . . .
[Bricks and thorns are] never [found] among [them].

39 [The whole of that land] gleams and . . . revealed (?)
amidst them³ . . .

(*Eight verses missing*)

48 [Each who] ascends⁴ up to their land, and [who has the
Knowledge,⁵ will praise] His manifestation, lauded
and beneficent.⁶

49 None who is among . . . has [a dark shadow]. [All
the bodies] and appearances upon that land (are)
[radiant].

50 Their dominion⁷ . . . The depth of that [land has no
boundary].⁸

¹ Cf. M 178 30-33 (loc. cit.).

² The first line of the Chinese is: 'Bitter poison, the sour and the rough, . . .' The final character is very rare and of doubtful meaning (W.).

³ The third line of the Chinese has either 'precious lands in layers' or 'precious lands of all kinds'. The left part of a character has been omitted (W.).

⁴ The Chinese word which presumably renders the Parthian *sn̄yd* (translated by Tsui Chi as 'has sprung') is used, e.g., of fountains leaping up. It sounds strange in this context (W.).

⁵ i.e. each who possesses religious enlightenment; cf. M 741 10b (BSOAS. xiii, p. 913).

⁶ i.e. that of the Father of Light.

⁷ *šahrdārīft* is a natural restoration in the light of 50b, but is not supported by the Chinese version, in which the first two lines of this verse are concerned with the inhabitants and not the land. These lines have no logical connexion with the last two, however, and Dr. Waley thinks they may be misplaced. (It seems possible that the translator in some way confused 49b with 50a, for there is some repetition in his version.) The literal rendering of the Chinese for 49b is:

'c) all the characteristics of his body are unusual,

d) and whatever (grows) on the precious soil is always halcyon-blue.'

The first two lines of 50 are as in Tsui Chi's translation (but with 'magnificent' for 'solemn' in b). The last two lines run as follows:

'c) downwards penetrating the precious earth without boundary or limit,

d) wanting to know its limit would not make sense.' (W.)

⁸ Cf. M 178 19-21 (loc. cit.).

ck R+df R+di R 51a 'rg'w 'hynd hwy(n) [o]
 [pd cyhrg 'by wyt'ny]
 ck R+df R+di R b 'wd ny nyz'wryft¹ o
 'w[d zrw'n pd hwyn hnd'm]

ck R+df R 52a 'wd 'ywyc mrdwh[m o]
 [pdm'n ny šhyd kw w'c']
 ck R+df R b 'wd z('n(')² cw(n)[d³]

ck R+df R 53a hwyn dydn 'bgws[tg⁴ o]

 ck R+df R b w[. . . .]š'n ('b(.)[o]

df R 54a ['wt (hr)wyc [o]

 df R b [] (z)myg '[]

df R 55a ['wt] (h)rwy[n o]

(Two verses missing)

by V 58a []'(.)'d gr'n tnb'r o
 mdy'n [hwyn ny 'st]
 by V b [](.b(.) ('n)dyšyšn o
 pdy[]

by V+cb R 59a ['wd] (w)šmy(d⁵ 'štynd⁵ o
 pd nys'g 's[t'wyšn]
 by V+cb R b [hmyw] (p)d nm'c o
 'w hw bwrz u (s)[⁶]

cb R+di V 60a [hmg pwr š]'dyft⁷ o
 u wxš nw'g rmnyg⁸
 cb R+di V b
 [h]rwyn m'nyst'n⁹

¹ So in df; nyz'wryf[di; ny(z)[ck ² Thus in ck; it would be possible also to read z('n(nd), but the traces favour the reading given in the text. In df the word is wholly illegible ³ Restoration suggested by H. from ck only; cw certain; (n) almost certain ⁴ In ck only ⁵ In by only ⁶ bwrz u in both; (s)[in cb only ⁷ In cb only ⁸ In di only ⁹ m'ny[cb;]'nyst'n di

51 Precious are they, [with forms that are free from injury]. Feebleness and [age do not affect their limbs].¹

52 There is not one single man [who can tell their measure], or know how much (?) . . .²

53 Their forms revealed (?) . . .

54 Even all . . . the land . . .³

55 All . . .

(Two verses missing)

58 . . . [no] heavy bodies [are found] among [them] . . . thoughts⁴ . . .

59 They are joyous, (uttering) wonderful praises.⁵ They [continually] do reverence to the exalted and . . . [Lord].

60 [All is filled] with happiness and sweet delightful song . . . all the monasteries.

¹ Cf. M 178 45-47. The last two lines of 51 in Chinese are literally:

'c) powerful and always peaceful and without decay or old age,

d) one must say that they have no decrease, and their bodies are continually strong.' (W.)

² The literal translation of the Chinese is as follows:

'None but the great Holy One knows the measure of their bodies.

How could ordinary mortals calculate and speak it?

Their diamond bodies cannot be imagined.

The size of their conformations only the Holy One can distinguish.' (W.)

³ Dr. Waley emends the second line of the Chinese by the small alteration of the character for 'impossible' to that for 'certainly'. The verse then runs as follows in a literal translation:

'Man and heaven and holy people and ordinary people—

all their different varieties of form—

All other forms the carnal tongue can certainly describe.

The Buddhas are really difficult to imagine,

And the precious soil of diamond is just the same.' (W.)

⁴ The fourth line of the Chinese verse is as follows: 'Their thoughts are all manifest and are all the same.' (W.)

⁵ The second line of the Chinese verse is as follows: 'They perform marvelous chants without ever stopping.' (W.)

ck V+df V+di V	61a	. . . . .
		['y](w) byd'n ¹ 'st'wynd
ck V+df V+di V	b	[hrwyn pd drwštyf]t o
		'štynd y'wyd'n
ck V+df V	62a	. . . . .
		'wt s[r] ² 'w hw ny 'st ³
ck V+df V	b	. . . . .
		[](s)'(..)n h(r)wyn wy'g'n
ck V+df V	63a	. . . . .
		[] hwyn ny 'st ⁴
ck V+df V	b	. . . . .
		[] wzrgyf[t]
df V	64a	[nxšg hrwyn m'nyst'n o]
		['wd] (tr)s ⁵ 'ndr ny 'st]
df V	b	. . . . .
		[](kr) 'wd [⁶]š[]
df V	65a	. . . . .
		[]š(.)[]
(Two verses missing)		
cb V ⁷	68a	['wd] hmg pwr rwšn o
cb V	b	[š'd]yft 'wd pdyštr o
cb V	69a	[...]d pd š'd[y]f(t) o
		u r(')[myšn ⁸]
cb V	b	[]jmn](y)n pdm['n o]
	

(Nine verses missing)

(End of the first *handām*)

¹](b)y d'n di;](w) byd[df;](d)'n ck ² Restoration suggested by H. from df only ³ so in ck; 'st is not present in df, and was presumably written at the beginning of 62b ⁴ 's(t) ck;]t df ⁵ H.'s reading ⁶ There is a dot above the letter missing immediately after 'wd ⁷ cb R is rendered by *Hymn-scroll* 59 and 60 and cb V should therefore be rendered by 69 and 70, instead of by 68 and 69; but see opposite, p. 77 n. 7. ⁸ H.'s restoration

61 . . . they praise one another.¹ They [all] dwell [in health²] eternally.

62 . . . and it³ has no end . . . all places.

63 . . . is not [in] them . . . greatness . . .

64 [The monasteries are all splendid, and] fear is unknown therein⁴ . . .

65 (*Traces only are legible*)

(*Two verses missing*)

68 All (is) full of Light . . . [Happi]ness and esteem⁵ [are unbroken].

69 . . . in happiness and joy (?). . . . The reckoning [of hours (?)]⁶ . . .

(*Nine verses missing*)⁷

(End of the first canto)⁸

¹ The literal translation of the second line of the Chinese is: 'In antiphony their songs rise, recounting marvellous virtues' (W.).

² The Chinese word is that used in the sense of the Arabic *salām* in greetings (W.).

³ i.e. the land of Paradise.

⁴ The word in the second line of the Chinese which is rendered as 'criticism' by Tsui Chi may mean 'exile'; but the reading is doubtful (W.).

⁵ The third line of the Chinese verse is literally 'esteem and joy have no gaps between' (W.).

⁶ In the last line of this verse the Chinese has 'the Three Terminations', i.e. the three kinds of death (by sickness, violence, or old age) (W.).

⁷ Although the Chinese version has only seventy-seven verses, in the superscription it is said to contain seventy-eight (see *BSOAS.* xi, p. 199). Presumably the translator has omitted a verse. This would account for a discrepancy between the texts; see p. 76 n. 7.

⁸ For the identification of the verses in *H.* I see above, pp. 7 and 32.

Huwīdagmān II

T II K_I78² R+T II D178^e R (Sogd.)T II K_I78² V+T II D178^e V (Sogd.)

δβtykw 'n(δ)[m'y γwyδkm'n]

[γnt']kkr'yty p'tβr's¹pty'mty δβtyk 'nδmy
γwyδkm'n²

*Huwīdagmān III

[No title]

dc R³

1a

[](b)'my[n]

dc R

b [](f)t o

ny wzmryd y'wy[d'n]

dc R

2a []d o

u xwmbwyft (b)[]

dc R

b []br']zyd o

'br hrwyn (q)⁴[]

dc R

3a [....](d)'(d) 'štyd o

(')[...](y)d x[]

dc R

b ['w]t ny 'st '(s)[o]

.

dc R

4a ['](s)prhmg[o]

.

dc R

b [n]y 'st pt h[wyn o]

.

dc R

5a [wy](')g 's[t o]

.

(Five verses missing)

¹ H.'s reading and restorations; see above, p. 32² L.'s reading (with

pty'm(')ty corrected to pty'mty—H.); see W.—L. i, p. 67

³ No margins

are preserved in this fragment, and the identification of its recto and verso pages is based on the contents

⁴ Or (m)[

Huwīdagmān II

Second canto of [*Huwīdagmān*]: The punishment of
[sin]ners.

Finished (is) the second canto of *Huwīdagmān*¹

*Huwīdagmān III

[*No title*]

- 1 . . . radiant . . . will never wither.
- 2 . . . and fragrance . . . gleams (?) upon all . . .
- 3 . . . exists . . . and there is no . . .
- 4 Flower[s] . . . there is no . . . in them (?).
- 5 It is a place (?) . . .

(*Five verses missing*)

¹ The title and colophon only of this canto are known, in the Sogdian translation. Traces of the last verse survive, but they are not sufficient for a reconstruction to be made; see above, pp. 32-33.

- dc V 11a [br]m'd o
 ('ž)[]
 dc V b ['w](m) gy'n 'ndm(y)d o
 p[]
 dc V 12a [] pt 'xšd o
 frhyg[r]
 dc V b ['c hwyn o
 'wt d[]
 dc V (*Space of one verse left blank*)
 (*End of the third (?) handām*)

*Huwīdagmān IV

[No title]

- dc V 1a¹
 [w]xybyh 'm(y)['st]²
 dc V b
 [] hrwyn wdn̄g
 dc V 2a
 [by]rwly(y)[n]²

(End of the first fragment of the fourth (?) *handām*)

*Huwīdagmān IVa

[No title]

- dm R 1a ky(m) wyš'h'h 'c hrwyn o
 g(r)yhcg³ u zynd'n
 dm R b cy 'nmbrynd⁴ 'wrjwg o
 cy ny wxš 'hynd
 dm R 2a kym hynw'r wyd'r' o
 cy zryh 'ywšt̄g
 dm R b zwnws rzm'hyg
 kw 'ngwn ny 'st̄

¹ This verse is preceded by a blank space (see *H. III) and must therefore be the opening verse of a canto ² Restoration suggested by H. ³ Andreas' reading (see H., *BSOS.* ix, p. 83); *g(')hcg* L. ⁴ H.'s reading; *'mbrynd* L. The *n* is clear

11 . . . wept (?) at . . . [and] my spirit sighs . . .

12 . . . in mercy, friend (?) . . . from them and . . .

(End of the third (?) canto)¹

*Huwīdagmān IV

[*No title*]

1 . . . own . . . was wreathed (?) . . . all constraints . . .

2 . . . of crystal (?).

(End of the first fragment of the fourth (?) canto)¹

*Huwīdagmān IVa

[*No title*]

1 Who will release me from all the pits and prisons, in
which are gathered (?) lusts that are not pleasing?

2 Who will take me over the flood of the tossing sea—
the zone of conflict in which there is no rest?

¹ For the allocation of these verses see above, pp. 40-41.

be R ¹ +dm R	3a kym bwj'h 'c rwmb o cy hrwyn d'md'd'n
be R+dm R	b cy 'yw byd'n wyg'nynd o 'wt 'st'wynd ² 'by 'xšd
be R+dm R	4a k(ym) [p]rys(p)'n ³ 'zw'y'h o 'wt p'rgyn wyd'r'h
be R+dm R	b cy ⁴ pwr tr(s) ['w](t) ⁵ lrz o cy dyw'n ⁶ wyg'ng
dm R	5a kym ''jwn 'zw'y'h o 'wt 'c hrwyn '[bd]'c' ⁷
dm R	b 'wt 'c hrwyn wrm o kw 'ngwn ny 'st
dm V	6a 'wt 'br gryw brm'm o kw 'g bwxs'n '(c) (h)w
dm V	b 'wt 'c d'md'd'n 'sp'w o ky 'yw byd'n x'zynd
dm V	7a mrdwhmg'n tnb'r o mwrgr'n 'ndrw'zyq
br R (?) ⁸ +dm V	b zrhyg m'sy'g'n o cwrb'd'n u wysp dywg
br R (?) +dm V	8a kym 'ymyn wyd'r'h o 'wt 'c hrwyn bwj'h
br R (?) +dm V	b kw ny wrt'n 'wt k(f)'n o pt hwyn nrh 'bn's
dm V	9a 'wt gst pt hwyn ny wyd'r'n o pd 'jwn ny 'zw(r)[t'n] ⁹
dm V	b cy wysp zng d'lwg o (')[z]gry(f)tg ⁷ pt (.)[...]t'n
dm V	10a 'wm k(y) [b]wj'h ¹⁰ 'c hw o 'bš('m)g'n ¹¹ bwrzynd
dm V	b x'zyndg'n jfr'n o cy hmg nrh 'wt tng

¹ The identification of be and dm is not certain; see above, p. 39 ² In dm only; probably a mistake for 'sp'wynd, but possibly caus. to 'stwb- (H.); see glossary

³ In dm only. H.'s reading; [...]dys[.]'n L.

clear in both MSS.

' seems clear

⁷ L.'s reading

⁸ br is a tiny fragment with no margins; it is impossible, therefore, to identify its recto and verso

⁹ H.'s reading; 'zw(')[.]...L.

¹⁰ So; there is a hole where the b should be; ky bwj'h L.

¹¹ H.'s reading; 'bš...g'n L.

⁴ qy L.; cy is

⁶ dyw('n) L.; the

⁹ H.'s reading;

¹⁰ So; there is a hole where the b should be; ky bwj'h L.

¹¹ H.'s reading; 'bš...g'n L.

- 3 Who will save me from the jaws of all the beasts who destroy and terrify (?) one another without pity?
- 4 Who will lead me beyond the walls and take me over the moats, which (are) full of fear and trembling from ravaging demons?
- 5 Who will lead me beyond rebirths, and free me from (them) all—and from all the waves, in which there is no rest?
- 6 I weep for (my) soul, saying: May I be saved from this, and from the terror of the beasts who devour one another!
- 7 The bodies of men, and of birds of the air, of fish of the sea, and four-footed creatures and of all insects¹—
- 8 who will take me beyond these and save me from (them) all, so that I shall not turn and fall into the perdition of those hells?
- 9 so that I shall not pass through defilement in them, nor return in rebirth, wherein all the kinds of plants (are) taken out in . . .?
- 10 Who will save me from the swallowing heights (and?) the devouring deeps,² which are all hell and distress?

¹ See Henning, *BSOS*. ix, pp. 82, 90; Polotsky, *Abriss*, p. 250.

² These words can be construed in more than one way.

(Two verses missing)

13 . . . in beast(s) of the chase.

14, 18 (*Traces only are legible*)

(End of this fragment of the fourth (?) canto)¹

Huwīdagmān IVb

[*No title*]

1 These will collapse upon the whole structure, and all the (Dark) Powers will perish in agony and perdition.

2 Wretchedness will overtake all (its) inhabitants and perdition of hell in which there is no mercy.

Who will save me from these and take me beyond them all, so that I shall not be devoured in the distress of those hell-deeps?

(End of the fourth canto)²

¹ For the allocation of these verses see above, pp. 39-40.

² For the identification of these verses see above, p. 5.

Huwīdagmān V

[No title]

858e R+dl R	1a 'g'm ky ¹ bwj'h 'w mn o 'c hw jfr 'bn's	
dl R	b 'wt 'c dr t'ryg o cy hmg 'wdjn	
895a R+bv R+dl V+ eaR	2a cy hmg 'njwgyft ² o 'wd ³ mrn wyxs'g	
895a R+bv R+dl V+ ea R	b 'wt ⁴ hwfry'd 'wd ³ 'dy'wr 'ndr hw ny 'st	P
895a R+bv R+dl V	3a qd'c 'w y'wyd'n drwd 'ndr ny 'st	
895a R+dl V	b 'wt hmg pwr pt t'r o 'wd ³ nyzm'n dwd'yn ⁵	
bu R+dl V	4a cy hmg pwr dybhr o 'wt dwr ⁶ 'ndr ny 'st	
bu R+dl V	b 'wd ³ wyxsynd ⁷ pd ⁸ jxm o hrwyn 'dyhynd'n	[P]
bu R+dl V	5a pd ⁸ tšyndyft ⁹ 'by'b ¹⁰ o 'wt pt tft ¹⁰ w'd 'stft ¹¹	
bu R+dl V	b 'wd ³ srsk ¹² zrgwng o 'ndr kd'c ny 'st	
dl V	6a kym bwj'h 'c hw o 'wt 'c hrwyn wyxs'g	
dl V	b 'wm dwr k(r) ¹³ 'c hrw o tng cy dwjx	[P]

(Two verses missing)

¹ sic dl; in this MS. y and w are distinct, and here y is certain; kw L.;]m ky (b)[858e, where also y is distinct. H. reads the Sogdian as "k'm ky pwx", with ky certain; kw L. ² so in bv; -yft dl ³ 'wt dl ⁴ '[wd] written after two dots at the end of 2a in ea ⁵ Thus clearly in 895a; dw(d'y)n dl; d. .('n L. ⁶ Thus in dl (the only MS.); a mistake for rwd? (H.) ⁷ wxsynd bu ⁸ pt dl ⁹ In both MSS. ¹⁰ In dl only ¹¹ In dl only; 'stft L. ¹² Thus clearly in dl; srs(k)[bu; srks L. (corrected by H., BSOS. ix, p. 87) ¹³ L.'s reading, as an emendation for kdn (given in his text). The MS. has kd'

Huwīdagmān V

[No title]

- 1 Who will willingly¹ save me from the pit of destruction, and from the dark valley where all is harshness?
- 2 —where all is anguish and the stab of death. Helper and friend is there none therein.
- 3 Never to eternity is there safety there. (It is) all full of darkness and fume-filled fog.
- 4 (It is) all full of wrath and there is no pity (?) there. All who enter are pierced by wounds.
- 5 (It is) waterless through drought, and hardened by hot winds. No golden² drop (of water) is ever (found) therein.
- 6 Who will save me from this, and from all stabs, and take me afar from all distress of hell?

(Two verses missing)

¹ Evidently an adverb; I consulted Prof. Henning, who writes: 'Andreas rejected Lentz' translation *Ich wünsche dass* and proposed "(it is) time that HE should save me . . ." Now that you rightly point out that the MSS. in fact have *ky*, almost certainly the interrogative pronoun here (as in the preceding and following verses), your view that 'g'm is an adverb should be accepted. In that case, 'g'm cannot well be the word for "time, period". That we have here a different word is moreover indicated by the Sogdian transliteration, "k'm, i.e. *āgām*; "time", however, was *āyām*, which the Sogdians would have spelt "γ'm; the Sogdian transliterations prove the existence of a difference in the Parthian development of OIr. intervocalic -k- (resulting in -g-) and -g- (resulting in -γ-); cf. e.g. *mwrδk'n* = *mwrδg'n* against "γδ = 'gd. As therefore 'g'm in this passage continues OIr. *ākām* + x, one may assume an ancient *avyayībhāva* compound **ākāmam* "according to wish" ("as I desire"; the meaning probably equalled that of Av. *vasō*).'

² Probably a reference to the best kind of Persian water, the *water called golden*, which no one was allowed to drink, on pain of death, except the Persian king and his eldest son: Athenaeus *ib*, 9, p. 515a, cf. Brisson, *De Regno Pers.*, ch. 83 (pp. 125 sqq. ed. Lederlin). (H.)

858e V+bq R+cl R+ cw R	9a	pd (j)xm ¹ 'by 'xšd o jd ¹ bwynd pd jfr'(n)	
858e V+bq R+cl R+ cw R	b	'wd ny 'st drwštyft o 'w hrwyn ywb(hr)	
858e V+bq R+cw R	10a	'wd hrw 'wrjwg o 'wd frg'w ² wys'(x)[yft] ³	
858e V+bq R+cw R	b	nyš'n ⁴ hwfry'dyd o pd (hw) [w]y'g ¹ nrhyg	P
858e V	11a	. . . . . [ . . . . . ] 'dy'wr['n]	
858e V	b	. . . . . [ . . . . . ] (')ng(d)[. . .]	
895a V+bv V+ea V	12a	'wd hrwyn 'wzdys'n ⁵ o pylg ⁶ 'wd pdq[r] ⁶	
895a V+bv V+ea V	b	'c hw nrh 'w hwyn o ny šhynd bw(x)[tn] ⁶	(p)
895a V+bv V	13a	pd 'njwgyft tryxsynd ⁷ o pd 'by'[xšd]	
895a V	b	'wd hrw kyš'n jnynd o wyg'[nynd (?)]	
bu V	14a	. . . . . [ . . . . . ](n)d	
bu V	b	. . . . . [ . . . . . ]dyft z'nyndyy	[p]
bu V	15a	. . . . . [ . . . . . w]yndynd	
bu V	b	. . . . . [ . . . . . ](d) (w)yš'h'	
		<i>(Three verses missing)</i>	
bq V+cl V+cw V	19a	(k)ym kr' dwr 'c [hw o] ⁸ [kw pd] hwyn ny ng[wh]'n ⁹	
bq V+cl V+cw V	b	['w]d (ny) ['](m)bd'n ¹⁰ 'w[d] (k)[f](')n ¹¹ o 'w hrw txl [d](w)jx ¹²	

¹ In 858e only ² So in 858e; *frg* cw ³ H.'s restoration, from 858e only ⁴ So in 858e; *ny(š)* [bq] ⁵ So in 895a; *wzdy* [ea] ⁶ in bv only ⁷ In 895a ⁸ The first half-line is in cl only ⁹ *ng* [cw;]'n bq. The number of letters missing is probably two or three ¹⁰ Reading suggested by H., from cl only ¹¹ In cw only; the tail-stroke only of the (k) is visible, and it is, therefore, uncertain how much is missing between (k) and (')
¹² *txl* [cw;](w)jx bq. A generous space has been left after *txl* on cw, and it is therefore unlikely that more than [d] is missing

- 9 They are struck by merciless blows in the deep.
There is no health for all (their) sicknesses.
- 10 Not all the lusts and the comfort of wealth will help
them in that hellish place.
- 11 . . . friends . . . rich (?) . . .
- 12 Not all (their) idols, altars and images can save them
from that hell.
- 13 They are oppressed by anguish (and) by merciless(?)
. . . All who strike them destroy (?) . . .
- 14 . . . should know . . .
- 15 . . . they find . . . may he (?) open.

(Three verses missing)

- 19 Who will take me far from [it, that] I may not plunge
(?) [into] them; and that I may not tumble and fall (?)
into every bitter hell.

bq V+cw V

20a ['wd hrw ky 'dyhynd '](n)dr o
'zg'm ny wyndynd¹

bq V+cw V

b
'w hwyn bw(y) (.)[. . .]c²(End of the first fragment of the fifth *handām*)

*Huwīdagmān Va

[No title]

bn R³1a [bwrz ']bxrwsynd o
'ž hwyn ky (.)[. .](m)[. .]

bn R

b [ny dyw'n u n]y '(h)rmyn⁴ o
'ngwn dhynd 'w hwyn

bn R

2a ['](b)xrwsynd u pdwhynd o
(w) d'dbr r'stygr

bn R

b [..](...) ny (p)dw'cyd o
kw 'w hwyn (hw)fry'd'

(Eight verses missing)

bn V³11a cy(d) w[š]'ynd⁵ 'c 'ndr o
pd hw n(r)[h . . .]

bn V

b jfr'n x'zyndg o
kw (f)rm[n](y)wg [ny 'st]

bn V

12a (w)y'g [']st cy wy'b'n o
kw 'b 'ndr ny (')[st]

bn V

b cy h(rw)yn 'dyhynd'n o
pd hw hw'n wxs[ynd](End of this fragment of the fifth (?) *handām*)¹ up to *wyndyn*[d], cw;]dynd only, bq² (.)[.] cw;]c bq³ The order of the pages is not certain⁴ Reading and restoration

suggested by H. The second half of (h) is hidden by a line across the page

⁵ Reading suggested by H.

20 [All who enter] there find no way out . . . to them the odour . . .

(End of the first fragment of the fifth canto)¹

*Huwīdagmān Va

[*No title*]

- 1 They shriek [aloud] at those who . . . [Fiends and] the devil give them no rest.
- 2 They shriek and implore the righteous Judge . . . He does not answer to give them help.

(*Eight verses missing*)

- 11 They hunger always inside, within that hell . . . (that) devouring deep, where hope [is unknown].
- 12 It is a desert place, where water [is] not (found); by whose agony all who enter (there) are pierced.

(End of this fragment of the fifth (?) canto)²

¹ For the identification of the verses in *H. V* see above, pp. 5 and 29-31.

² For the allocation of these verses see above, pp. 41-42.

Huwīdagmān Vb

Fifth canto of *Huwīdagmān*

- 1 From every boundary . . . and my heart was taken away (?). . .

(*Nine verses missing*)

- 11 There is no sinfulness within [that] noble (?) [domain] . . . [there is] no . . . among them.

(End of this fragment of the fifth canto)¹

Huwīdagmān Vc

[*No title*]

- 1 Their fragrant garlands are sacred and immortal; their bodies are full of living pure drops.
- 2 All with one mind praise one another; they bless (one another) with living blessings, and become blessed for evermore.
- 3 In my mind I remembered; and I wept [aloud] in [misery] (saying): 'Who [will save] me from every terror and fear?'
- 4 'Who will take me up to that happy realm, so that joy shall be mine in union with all (its) inhabitants?'

Finished the fifth canto: 'Who will willingly² save . . .'³

¹ For the identification of *H. Vb* see above, pp. 31–32.

² See above, p. 87 n. 1.

³ The translation of *H. Vc* from the Sogdian has kindly been supplied by Professor Henning; for the identification of its verses see above, p. 31.

Huwīdagmān VI

T II K (Sogd.)

''γšt wγšmy-k 'nδmy
'wm ''wδyn

T II K

*1a 'wm ''wdyn brm'd o
'wt 'sr pd zmyg pšyxt

T II K

b 'dy'n 'zgwł'dwm wcn
cy šhrd'r kyrbg¹

*Huwīdagmān VIa

[No title]

do R

1a 'wt '(z) (h)[ym o]

do R

b 'wt tw 'yy (nx)[wyn? o]
.

do R

2a 'w's '(.)[o]²
[rw]šn g(y'n)³[]

do R

b cy 'z hym [kyr]bg o
'(w)[t]⁴ (gry)[w⁵]

do R

3a 'z 'w tw bwj'n o
'c hrw []

do R

b cy z'wr'n wyst(m)b(g'n)⁶ [o]
k[y] (')[hr](')s'd ['yy]⁷
pt̄ trs o⁸

¹ This is the first verse of *H. VI*, reconstructed from the Sogdian by H., who writes: 'The first two words, 'wm ''wδyn in the Sogdian transliteration, contain ''wδyn which was mentioned in *BSOS*. ix, p. 79, from a single broken passage, with a wrong meaning. It is now defined by the inscription of Shapur at the Ka'be-yi Zardušt, Parth. line 22 (*HIN pty'wyd*) 'wtyn "so long (as it lasts)" (*pty'w-* = Man. *pt'w-*) = Pahlavi 27 ('*D ptwd't*) 'ndwm = Greek 52 τόσῳ; hence, *āwādīn* from *āwat-* = Av. *awant-* 'tantus', with which Pahl. 'ndwm is closely associated (cf. Pers. *and*). The Sogdian verse is: *rty wytwr mnt prw mwn'kw w'β yn'βw rty Zkw 'čkw' prw s'y p's'ynč'w rty nwr pt'yγwšw 'zw wnyr ZKn šyr'kty 'γšywn'y.*' ² The position of the caesura is uncertain ³ L.'s reading

⁴ H.'s reading; '[. .] L. ⁵ (g). [L.; the bottom of the letters only is visible, and the reading very doubtful ⁶ H.'s reading; *wyst.b(y)*. . L.

⁷ H.'s reading; *g'..(hs)'(d)[.] L. ⁸ Written thus below the line, in smaller characters*

Huwīdagmān VI

Begun (is) the sixth canto 'And while I thus . . .'

- 1 And while I thus wept and shed tears upon the ground, I heard the voice of the beneficent king.¹

*Huwīdagmān VIa

[*No title*]

- 1 I am . . . and thou art the first (?) . . .
- 2 Now . . . light (?) Spirit (?) . . . for I am the piety (?) and the . . . [of thy?] soul (?).
- 3 I shall save thee from every . . . of the rebellious Powers who have frightened [thee] with fear.

¹ This is Professor Henning's translation from the Sogdian. The opening verse only of the sixth canto has been identified in Sogdian; see above, p. 31.

- do R 4a ['z 'w tw 'bd'] (c'n)¹ o
'ž hrw db² u ' (yw)z
- do R b
['wt m]rn 'xš'dyft
(One verse missing)
- do V 6a
[. . . hr](wyn) (p)hrg³
- do V b
(c)y hrwyn dwšmyn⁴
- do V 7a [. . .]t⁵ o
'w(t)⁶ [. . .](g) x'zyndg
- do V b '[. . .]š(t)y[d]⁷ (o)
'wt n(r)[h]⁸ 'hrywrr
- do V 8a (')[wt 'ng'w]('n) (pr)xy(z)yšn⁹ o
cy hrwyn wyg'nyšn
- do V b ['w](t)¹⁰ wy(s)[p]¹¹ ywbhr o
ky 'hr's'd 'yy pd mrn
- do V 9a 'wt wryh'n prw'n tw o
h(rw)¹² t[⁵ . . .]
- do V b 'wt frb'd'n pt (.)[. . . o]
.

(End of this fragment of the sixth (?) *handām*)

Huwīdagmān VIb

- dg R šhwm [hnd'm]
- bl R 1b [. . .]g (o)
n[. . .]

¹ [(j'n) L.; the top of the letters only is visible. There is no trace on the photograph of the upper stroke of *j*, and the spacing suggests that the half-line contained one or two more letters than 3aa ² H.'s reading; *rb* L. The MS. is here flecked with dots, of which there are three in a line over *db* ³] *hrg* L.

⁴ Written *dwšmn* with two dots under the *m* ⁵] ⁶ L. The top stroke only is visible, but is certainly that of a *t* ⁶ H.'s reading; *'w'* L. ⁷ H.'s reading;] *šwy*[.] o L. ⁸ *n*.[.] L.; only the lower part of (*r*) (?) is visible

⁹] . . *ky*. *y*(š)*n* o L. ¹⁰ .] . . L. ¹¹ H.'s reading; *wy*.[.] L. ¹² H.'s reading; *'r*. L.

- 4 [I shall release thee] from all deceit and turbulence . . .
[and] the torment of death.

(*One verse missing*)

- 6 . . . every (?) watch-post¹ . . . of every enemy.
7 . . . and devouring . . . There is (?) . . . and the deadly
pool of hell.
8' [I will make an end?] of the activity of all (forces
of) destruction, and all sickness which has dismayed
thee with death.
9 I will overthrow before thee all . . . and hurl down in . . .

(End of this fragment of the sixth (?) canto)²

Huwīdagmān VIb

Sixth [canto of *Huwīdagmān*]

- 1 (*Traces only are legible*)

¹ See above, p. 12; and cf. in these texts **H.* VII¹ 18b and 20a, **A.R.* IIIb 2b, *A.R.* IV 52b and Fr. L 11a.

² For the allocation of these verses see above, p. 40.

bl R	2a [h]rw hw'n o
bl R	b []b 'mrzg o ky g(y)'n(')[n]
bl R	3a [(g) 'ngwn p'(y)' o 'c (h)[]
bl R	b [(t)(..)ng ¹ 'štynd o

(Seven verses missing)

502a, b R	11a []syšt(n) (')[]
502a, b R+bl V	b 'wd 'ž hrw b[ndys]t'n ² o cy y'wyd'n []
502a, b R+bl V	12a (')(..)[.] 'š[kyb']h ³ pd 'ymyn o mwh(r) ⁴ []
502a, b R+bl V	b ['wd tw] (k)[r](') ⁵ 'z'd ⁶ o 'c ⁷ hrw z'w[r'n ⁸]
bl V+dk R	13a [(t)'n prw'n tw o hr(w) (t.) ⁹ []
bl V+dk R	b [w]ysp prysp o (...)[]
dg R+dk R	14a 'wd hrwyn 'xšynd'n [o]
dg R+dk R	b qfynd ¹⁰ prw'n tw o u '(x) ¹⁰ []

(Six verses missing)

502a, b V	21a [ny] (k)[f]'h ¹¹ 'ndr o p[....](nd)[]
502a, b V	b [cy hm]g pwr 'dwr o tng ['w](d) wxs''g

¹ Scarcely (tn)ng ² b[....]'n 502a, b;]t'n bl ³ Restoration, from 502a, b only, very doubtful; not 'š[t ⁴ In 502a, b only ⁵ So in 502a, b;](')n bl ⁶ ''z'd bl ⁷ 'ž bl ⁸ So in both ⁹ Or (g.)]; in bl only ¹⁰ So in dg only ¹¹ The tail-stroke only of the (k) is visible; more letters may therefore be missing between (k) and '

2 . . . every agony . . . (?) who . . . spirits (?) . . .

3 . . . he (?) will guard the tranquillity from . . . they are
. . .

(Seven verses missing)

11 . . . and from every prison which eternally . . .

12 . . . thou shalt be patient (?) through these seals (?)
. . . and I shall make [thee] free from all the (Dark)
Powers (?) . . .

13 I shall . . . before thee all . . . all walls . . .

14 All the Princes . . . will fall before thee and . . .

(Six verses missing)

21 Thou shalt [not] fall (?) within . . . [where all] (is)
full of fire, distress, and stabs.

502a, b V	22a ['n 'w tw o 'c dst nrh(p')n'n ¹
502a, b V	b [ky 'br] gy'n u gryw o 'xšd'gyft [ny krynd]
dk V	23a cy zwnws (k)[]
dk V	b [] (o) 'wd ny kf' [pd dwjx ²]
dg V+dk V	24a [bw](j)'g(r) qyrbk(r)
dg V+dk V	b (kd)'c m' tyrs(')

(End of this fragment of the sixth *handām*)

Huwīdagmān VIc

93 II R+289a R+ct R	šhwm hnd''m ³	
93 II V+289a V+ct V	hwydgm'n ⁴	
93 II R+289a R	1a 'z pd zwš 'st'n'n o 'wd frwz'n pd b'zwr	
93 II R+289a R	b 'br 'ž hrw z'wr'n o 'wd 'xšynd'n [w]ystmbg	P
93 II R+289a R	2a 'wd 'ydw'y'n 'w hw šhr o 'ng[wn h]syng	
93 II R+289a R	b 'wd nm'y'n pydr'n o wxyb[yh sd]f bg'nyg	
93 II R+289a R	3a 'wd wšmn'h pd š'dyft o p[d hw]my'g ⁵ 'st'wšn	
93 II R+289a R	b 'wd bw'h 'by 'nd'g o 'w[d . . .] fr'mwšt dwjgnd	P
93 II R+289a R	4a 'spyxt pdmwg pdmwj'(h) ⁶ o u 'zy'h ⁷ rwšn	
93 II R+289a R	b 'wd 'wst'n pd tw sr o dydym šhrd'ryft	

¹ Reading suggested by H.; (p') is cramped and blurred from *H. VII 21a ² Restored from *H. VII 21a ³ So in ct; hnd[]m 93 II+289a ⁴ -m''n ct ⁵ H.'s restoration ⁶ So in 93 II, with j clear ⁷ H.'s reading from 289a; possibly 'zywh'. (In the MS. represented by 93 II and 289a ' and w are often difficult to distinguish in a cramped position)

- 22 I shall [free] thee from the hands of the guardians of hell, [who show no] mercy [to] spirit and soul.
- 23 . . . (which is a) zone of . . . and thou shalt not fall [into hell].
- 24 . . . beneficent Saviour (?) . . . thou shalt fear no more.

(End of this fragment of the sixth canto)¹

Huwīdagmān VIc

Sixth canto of *Huwīdagmān*

- 1 I shall take (thee) eagerly and soar up upon wings,² high over all the (Dark) Powers and rebellious Princes.
- 2 I shall lead (thee) into the primeval calm of that land³; and I shall show (thee) the Fathers, my (?) own divine entity (?).
- 3 Thou shalt rejoice in gladness, in blissful praises. Thou shalt be without grief and . . . forgetful of stench.
- 4 Thou shalt put on a radiant garment, and gird on Light; and I shall set on thy head the diadem of sovereignty.

¹ For the identification of the verses in *H.* VIb see above, p. 38.

² Cf. *Ps. Bk.* 188²¹.

³ i.e. the New Paradise; see above, pp. 15-22.

93 II R+289a R	5a []h pd [o]	
	[] rdn b'my(g)	
289a R	b	P
	[]rd qyrbkr	
	(Four verses missing)	
ct R	10a ('w)[d p]d rwmb w'c'fryd o	
	dyz 'br hw []	
ct R	b (b)wrz 'wd ql'n o	
	cy 'rg'w p(')[dyxš'n] ¹	
93 II V+289a V+ct R	11a 'pdn ² 'st šhrd'ryft o	
	cy nwxz'd hsyng	
93 II V+289a V+ct R	b cy ³ pd hw pdmwcyd ⁴ š'dyft o	P
	u šhrd'ryft dydym bndyd	
93 II V+289a V+ct R	12a 'wd 'w hrwyn 'dy'wr'n o	
	dydym 'w hwyn bndyd	
93 II V+289a V+ct R	b 'wd š'dyft pdmwcn o	
	'w hwyn tn pdmwcyd	
93 II V+289a V	13a 'wd 'w hrwyn dy(n)'br'n o	
	u wcydg'n kyrbkr'n	
93 II V+289a V	b pdmwcyd 'st('w)yšn o	P
	'wš'n dydym bndyd	
93 II V+289a V	14a u pdxš'hynd pd š'dyft o	
	cw'gwn 'br n'm bwd pštg ⁵	
93 II V+289a V	b u 'njwgyft (w)d'r'(d) o	
	'ž dst dwšmnwn	
93 II V+289a V	15a 'wš'n k(r)[]t (o)	
	'd h(r)[wyn]	
289a V	b pd hw dyd(n) [o]	P
	
	(Four verses missing)	
ct V	20a [](gy)c jfr'n o	
	'c prywg pdgryft	
ct V	b [dwšm](n)yn nydrxt o	
	'wd hw bwrzyyft p'z'[h]	

¹ H. 's restoration; (') probable, but possibly (d) ² 'bdn ct ³ cy written after a small dot at the end of 11a in 93 II ⁴ So in 93 II and ct ⁵ pštg written with a small dot after it at the beginning of 14b in 289a

- 5 [Thou shalt] . . . through . . . brilliant jewel . . . beneficent . . .

(*Four verses missing*)

- 10 By a spiritual invocation¹ [there was built ?] on that [structure² ?] the fortress,³ high and vast, of the noble Em[peror].
- 11 A palace is the dominion of the primeval First-born,⁴ for in it he clothes himself in gladness and binds on the diadem of sovereignty.
- 12 And all (his) friends—he binds the diadem upon them, and clothes their bodies in the garment of gladness.
- 13 And all the believers and the pious Elect he clothes in praise, and binds on them the diadem.
- 14 They reign (now) in gladness, even as (once they had) been fettered for (their mere) name,⁵ and (had) undergone anguish at the hands of (their) foes.
- 15 And [he makes ?] them . . . with all . . . through that apparition . . .

(*Four verses missing*)

- 20 [The return from] the . . . Depth was obtained out of the Victory; [for] the enemies are subdued, and the Height (lies) in front!⁶

¹ Lit. 'by a spiritual mouth'. According to Henning, *w'c'fryd* is 'spiritual', equivalent in usage to Pahl. *mynwg*.

² Cf. *Mir. Man.* i, p. 184 ll. 9-10; p. 185 l. 5.

³ i.e. the New Paradise (cf. *Ps. Bk.* 198¹³).

⁴ i.e. the First Man (see above, pp. 21-22).

⁵ viz. as 'Manichaeans'. This translation of 14a was suggested by Professor Henning.

⁶ Professor Henning kindly suggested this translation of 20.

- ct V 21a ['s](t) hw rwc o
kd p'dgyrb 'bgwndyyd
- ct V b [hw pydr kyr](b)kr o
šhr'n rwsn'n šhrd''r
- ct V 22a ['wd hw 'spyxt cyhr](g) o
u p'dgyrb (n)ys'g b'myn
- ct V b [nm'yd 'w hrwyn o]
[b](g)['n] ky 'wwd m'n(yy)nd
- (End of this fragment of the sixth *handām*)

*Huwīdagmān VII

[No title]

- 871f R 1a ['w]d hrwyn dyn'br'n o
fr'm[wxt]
- 871f R b ['w]d bwynd h'mtnb'r o
pd []
- 871f R 2a [hw] (c)y w'xt 'w mn o
bw[]
- 871f R b [](...)d'd (.)š(.)[]

(Five verses missing)

- 588 R 8a (c)y 'st 'w (d)[] o
- 588 R b [p](d) hwyn hry syn(j)[yn o]
- 588 R+cu R 9a (c)y (pd) hw 'zyhynd¹ o
wyxtg'n¹ u hr(wy)n ky(r)bkr'n²
- 588 R+cu R b ['w]d hrw ky r'z z'n'd o
'wd w'(w)ryft³ frw(d)'(d)⁴
- cu R 10a 'ymyn⁵ 'bgwst 'w mn o
g(r)ywm bwj'gr
- cu R b [] (hy)nz'wr (o)
pd 'ym wzrgft⁶ (b)d(y)g⁷

¹ In both MSS. ² (wy)n ky(r) appear on a small piece of the paper that has been folded over at the top of cu (the only MS.). The letters appear, therefore, on the verso page of this fragment (H.) ³ In cu only ⁴ Reading suggested by H. from cu (the only MS.) ⁵ The letters 'y are on a small bit of the paper broken off and hanging at an angle (H.) ⁶ sic ⁷ Reading suggested by H.; the letters are closely cramped together

- 21 . . . [is] the day when He will reveal his form, [the] beneficent [Father], the Lord of the Aeons of Light.
- 22 [He will show that radiant shape] and brilliant, glorious form [to all the gods] who shall dwell there.

(End of this fragment of the sixth canto)¹

*Huwīdagmān VII

[*No title*]

- 1 All the believers will take off . . . and will become of one body in . . .
- 2 That which he said to me . . .

(*Five verses missing*)

- 8 What is . . . to . . . through those three escapes (?) . . .
- 9 For through that will go out the chosen and all the beneficent, and all who knew the mystery and understood the belief.
- 10 The Saviour of my soul revealed these things to me . . . mighty . . . through this second greatness.²

¹ For the identification of the verses in *H. VIc* see above, p. 33.

² *bdyg wzrgyft* is used in Parthian as an epithet of the Third Messenger; in Chinese 'the Second Greatness' is Jesus (see *Mir. Man.* iii, p. 887 n. 1; W.-L. i, p. 100 15a).

871f V+cu R	11a	['wd pd hw rwc] 'zg'm ¹ o 'gd 'br mn pd 'x(šd)
871f V+cu R	b	['wm bwxt 'ž hrwyn o 'njwgyft 'wd ² zynd'n
871f V+cu R	12a	[y]zd'n ³ o pd hw br wzrgyyf(t) ⁴
871f V+cu R	b	[bg]'nyg ⁵ o 'wd fryšt'g'n 'r[d'w] ⁶
(Five verses missing)		
588 V	18a	. . . . . [ ] 'xšynd'n
588 V	b	. . . . . [ ]' hrwyn phrg
588 V+cu V	19a	u (hr)[wyn '](h)r'sg ⁷ o ngws'r kfynd ⁸ prw'n
588 V+cu V	b	u hw(')[n p]d ⁹ syzdyft ¹⁰ o 'w (h)wyn bšn'n ¹¹ p'z'h ¹²
588 V+cu V	20a	u wxd wydr' hwyn wymnd o pd phrg'n ny gryysp' ¹³
cu V	b	u bwxs(') 'ž 'njwgyft [o]
cu V	21a	u ny kf' pd dwjx o '(wd) pd []
cu V	b	ny bw' š'dyft o 'w h[w]
cu V	22a	ms pd tnb'r gnd'g o ny (.)[]
cu V	b	u pd hrwyn ywbhr o hw ¹⁴ gr['nyft ny wyd'r']

¹ In both MSS. ² u cu ³ zd' is on a piece of the paper that has been folded back, so that the letters appear on the recto of 871f (the only MS.) (H.) ⁴ wzrg[871f ⁵ 'ny also appears on the recto of 871f (the only MS.) (H.) ⁶ Restored from cu only ⁷ So in cu;]r'sg 588 ⁸ qfynd 588 ⁹ Restoration suggested by H. from cu only ¹⁰ So in cu;](z)dyft 588 ¹¹ So in both ¹² So in 588; p('z)[cu ¹³ Reading suggested by H.; gryy[588; in cu g[...] at the end of 20a, sp' followed by a dot at the beginning of 20b ¹⁴ Or possibly hwgr[

11 [Upon that day of] departing he came with mercy to me, [and saved me] from every anguish and prison.

12 . . . the gods, through that gate of greatness¹ . . . the divine (?) . . . and the just (?) apostles.

(Five verses missing)

18 . . . Princes . . . all the watch-posts.

19 All who affright (?) (thee) will fall down in (thy) presence; agony in overwhelming might (will hold) their² statures prone.³

20 Truly thou shalt pass their border, and shalt not be held at (their) watch-posts. Thou shalt be saved from anguish . . .

21 Thou shalt not fall into hell, nor into . . .; there shall be no gladness for . . .

22 [Thou shalt lie] no longer within the foul body . . .; [thou shalt no more endure] that [heaviness] amid all sicknesses.

¹ *br wzrg* 'great gate' is used elsewhere as an epithet for Jesus (see W.-L. i, p. 35).

² *hwyn* is almost invariably construed in these texts with a singular substantive; its occurrence here with *bšn'n* therefore supports Henning's interpretation of the latter word as a singular (see glossary).

³ The translation of 19b was kindly suggested by Professor Henning.

23a 'wd gy'n (ny) bw(?) (r)¹[o]

.

(End of this fragment of the seventh (?) *handām*)

*Huwīdagmān VIII

[No title]

689 R 1a [u hw]² w'xt 'w mn o
kw cy tw 'd (h)w (pt)[wd] (g)[st]³
689 R b pdgyrw'h hw 'st'wyšn o
u š'dcn dyd(y)[m]

502β, a R+689 R+ch R 2a u⁴ 'z 'w tw s'n'n
u 'bdys'n hw bwn wxy(b)[yy]⁵

502β, a R+689 R+ch R b u⁴ w'r'h pd hw 'r'm o
pd š'dyft (m')[n'h y'wyd'n]⁵

502β, a R+ch R 3a 'wt' 'wyšw'[h⁶ o]

502β, a R+ch R b 'wt⁷[](sr)[]

.

(Seven verses missing)

689 V 11a ['wd hw '](w) m(n) pdystwd o
y'wyd'n hnj'[myšn]

689 V b ['w]d (h)w p'dyšnwhr o
cy mn 'bg'm kyrbg

502β, a V+689 V+ch V 12a ['w](m) cw'gwn pd n'm⁸ (w)rw(?)d⁸ o
['w]d⁹ 'škyb'd¹⁰ pd r'štyft¹¹

502β, a V+689 V+ch V b ['w'gwn d'](d)¹² 'w mn prywg⁸
'br 'c hrw z'wr''n¹³

¹ Or possibly (x)[; the top of the letter only is visible, with its dot possibly ['wš'] ² Or possibly ['wš'] ³ Restoration suggested by H. The MS. is torn between (h)w and (pt), making the reading difficult; (?)w(st)[is also possible. The top-stroke of the (t) is not visible; only the bottom-stroke of the (g) appears

⁴ In 689; 'wt 502β, a ⁵ Restored from 689 (the only MS.) ⁶ sic (exceptionally clear) in ch (the only MS.); presumably for]'wyšt'[h, the top-stroke of the t having been omitted

⁷ 'wt[502β, a;](sr) (probably not an independent word) ch ⁸ In 689 only ⁹ So in ch; u 689 ¹⁰ In 689 and ch

¹¹ r'štyft with two dots under the f in 689; r'št[502β, a (the only MSS.) ¹² Hardly room for ['w'gwnyš d'](d) in 689 (the only MS.); the logical subject is fairly frequently omitted in these texts

¹³ So in 689; z'wr[ch;]'n 502β, a

23 Spirit, thou shalt not be . . .

(End of this fragment of the seventh (?) canto)¹

*Huwīdagmān VIII

[*No title*]

1 [He] said unto me: 'What loathliness thou hast endured (?) in his company—for that thou shalt receive the praise and the diadem of felicity.

2 I shall take thee up and show (thee) (thine) own origin. Thou shalt rejoice in that place, and [dwell] in gladness [evermore].

3 Thou shalt stand (?) . . . and . . .

(*Seven verses missing*)

11 [He] promised to me eternal completion and the recompense for my devout torture.

12 And even as I (had) strictly (?)² believed and been patient in righteousness, [so he gave] me the Victory above all the (Dark) Powers.

¹ For the allocation of these verses see above, p. 41.

² *pd n'm* 'according to the name', i.e. 'literally, strictly' (?) (Henning).

502β, a V+ch V

13a

[pd] hw rwž '(z)g'm¹

502β, a V

b

[](')m

(End of this fragment of the eighth (?) *handām*)

*Huwīdagmān VIIIa

[No title]

256 R+855 R

1a byc pd² drwd wydr'h³ o

'c hr(w)[]

256 R+855 R

b pṭ š'dyft' wd⁴ 'z'dyft⁵ o

pdxš'h'[h y'wyd'n]

256 R+855 R

2a 'wt' dyh'h 'w hw šhr o

q[⁶]

256 R+855 R

b 'wt' w'r'h pd š'dyft o

cy hw []

256 R+855 R

3a 'wt' pd 'ngwn 'wyšt'h [o]

.

256 R+855 R

b 'wt' ms 'njwgyft o

[ny pry'b'h y'wyd'n]

256 R

[h]njft hwydgm'n p[]

[hm](y)r [iii]i (?) C[]⁷

¹ '(zg)[ch;]('z)g'm 502β, a ² pṭ 256 ³ wdr'h 855 ⁴ u 855
⁵ -yft 256 ⁶ (k)[256 ⁷ H.'s reading and restorations; see *BSOAS.*
 xi, p. 217 with nn. 10 and 11. The numerals may have been three or five, rather
 than four; the final stroke only survives. The fragment ends with these words;
 it is impossible to tell, therefore, whether or not the colophon was continued to
 another line or lines

13 . . . [upon] the day of departing . . .

(End of this fragment of the eighth (?) canto)¹

*Huwīdagmān VIIIa

[*No title*]

1 But thou shalt pass in safety by every . . . Thou shalt reign in gladness and in freedom [for evermore].

2 Thou shalt enter into that land . . . and shalt rejoice in the gladness of that . . .

3 Thou shalt abide in tranquillity . . . and anguish [shall never overtake thee] more.

Finished *Huwīdagmān* . . . together (?) four hundred (?) . . . [strophes].²

¹ For the allocation of these verses see above, p. 41.

² Henning's translation (loc. cit.). For the identification of the verses, and for the canto-number given to them, see above, pp. 5-6, 7, 41.

Angad Rōšnān I

855 R and V+cs V+dd R	nys'r'd 'ngd rwšn'n	
256 V+855 V+cs V	1a 'ngd rwš[n]'n o fry'ng pt 'xšd	
256 V+855 V	b dhwm ² [z'wr u] ³ hwfry'd ⁴ o pd ⁵ hrwyn d'hw'n ⁶	p ¹
256 V+855 V	2a ['w mn gryw] xwd'y o wyn'r'h 'wm pdw'c'h ⁷	
256 V+855 V	b ['wm hwfry'd](')h o mdy'n dws̄mnyn ⁸	
256 V+855 V+dd R	3a hrwyn wyg'nyšn o (')c mn wydd'r'h ⁹	
256 V+dd R	b cy hwyn tnb'r dbg[r] o kym pd drd 'bj'myd	
256 V+dd R	4a tw fry'ng o 'st'[w'd]g 'wd qyrb(k)[r]	
256 V+dd R	b 'bd'cwm 'c h[wyn o] [](y) h[]	
dd R	5a cy tw z'nyh o (p)[]	
dd R	b ['w]m 'c 'š(n)[] o	
dd R	6a [']wt hrw '[] o	
dd R	b [..]r qyd ¹⁰ [] o	

(Four verses missing)

¹ The *p* is preserved only in cs, whose allocation is not certain; see above, p. 29
² *dhwm* is written after a dot at the end of 1a in 855, the only MS.
³ Restored from M 4: a 19
⁴ *hwfryy'd* 855
⁵ *pt* 855
⁶ *d'hw'n* 855
⁷ *-w'c'* 256
⁸ *-mnyyn* 855
⁹ So in 256, the only MS.
¹⁰ Perhaps for *qyr* [? No dot is visible over the *d*

Angad Rōšnān I

Begun (is) *Angad Rōšnān*

- 1 Rich Friend of the beings of Light! In mercy grant me [strength and] succour me with every gift!
- 2 Array [my soul], O Lord! respond to me!
[Succour me] in the midst of the foe!
- 3 Make pass from me all the ravages of their deceitful body,¹ that tortures me with pain.
- 4 Thou art the Friend, praised and beneficent! Free me from . . .
- 5 For thou knowest . . . me from . . .
- 6 And all . . .

(Four verses missing)

¹ Cf. *Ps. Bk.* 59⁹⁻¹⁰; *A.R.* VIII 5a.

- 780 R+889 R 11a 'wm (gryw) [wxybyy¹ o]
[br]myd¹ 'c 'ndr
- 780 R+889 R+du R b 'wd² 'bxrwsy[d 'c hrwyn o]
[w](d)nng³ 'wd wyxs'g
- 780 R+889 R+du R 12a 'wd jm(')n jy(w)[hr]⁴ o
'wd hw ns'w dydn⁵
- 780 R+889 R+du R+dx R b hnft pd mn o
cy rwc'n 'yws'tg
- 780 R+889 R+dd V+dx R 13a 'wd⁶ '()'šyft⁷ 'wd⁸ pšyft⁹ o
cw'gwn zryh pd¹⁰ wrm
- 780 R+889 R+dd V+dw R+dx R b 'wd⁸ drd 'mwšt¹¹ o
kw mn gryw wyg'nynd
- 780 R+889 R+dd V+dw R+dx R 14a 'c hrw 'rg o
hw 'njwgyft¹² pryft¹³
- 780 R+889 R+dd V+dt R+dw R b pdyd¹⁴ 'dwr o
'wd nyzm'n dwdyyn¹⁵
- 673 R+780 R+889 R+dd V+dt R+ed R 15a ['w](d) wys'd bwd 'hynd o
hrwyn t'r x'nyg
- 673 R+780 R+dd V+dh R+ed R b [.....m']sy'g'n¹⁶ o
pdgryft¹⁷ hym pd¹⁸ trs
- 673 R+780 R+dd V+dh R 16a ['wd mn] gryw tyrs'd o
'c hwyn cyhrg dydn
- 673 R+780 R+dd V+dh R+du V b cy bwt¹⁹ 'gs o
pd h[wy]n tyštyft²⁰
- 673 R+780 R+dh R+du V 17a (c)y hrwyn dwrcyhr o
'wd tyštyn²¹ 'c (.)[.]
- 673 R+dh R+du V+dx V b 'wd²² mrdwhm cyhrg o
ny 'st pd hwyn t[nb'r]²³

¹ H.'s restoration; 'wm (gryw)[889;]myd 780 at the end of 11a in 780; not visible in 889, where the end of 11a is lost, and 11b begins with 'bxrwsy[d
² 'wd written after dots
³ So in 780 (the only MS.)
⁴ 'wd jm(')n jy[889;
]o 'wd hw &c. 780
⁵ d](y)d'yn du (sic; cf. A.R. VI 5a)
⁶ 'w]t dx
⁷ So in dx; 'šyft 889
⁸ 'wt dx
⁹ So in dx; pšyft 780
¹⁰ pt dd
¹¹ So in dx; 'mwšt 889
¹² So in 780; '(nj)w[dw; 'njgyft dd
¹³ So in 780; pdyyft dd
¹⁴ So in dt; [pd]'yd 889
¹⁵ So in dd; dwd'yn 780
¹⁶]sy'g'n dh;]'g'n ed (the only MSS.)
¹⁷]yft 780
¹⁸ pt dd
¹⁹ So in du;]wd 673
²⁰ So in 673;](y)štyf[780; tyšty[dd
²¹ So in 673;](t)yn 780
²² 'w(t) du
²³ t[] in 673 only

- 11 My soul weeps within, and cries out [at each] distress
and stab.
- 12 This carrion-form is ended for me, and the hour of
life, with (its) turbulent days.
- 13 It¹ was tossed and troubled as a sea with waves.
Pain was heaped on pain, whereby they ravage my
soul.
- 14 On all sides the anguish reached (me); fire was kindled,
and the fog (was full) of smoke.
- 15 The wellsprings of Darkness had all been opened.
The [giant] fishes transfixed me with fear.²
- 16 [My] soul was dismayed at the sight of their forms,
for (they) became apparent in their dreadfulness;
- 17 for all were hideous and dreadful to [behold]. The
human form is not found among their bodies.

¹ i.e. 'the hour of life'; or possibly 'my soul' (from verse 11).

² Cf. *Ps. Bk.* 70³⁴; *Hymnscroll* 19d.

- 673 R+ax R+bi R+ 18a 'wd hrwyn dyw'n o
dh R+dx V 'xšynd'n dybhr̥g'[n]¹
- 673 R+83I R+axR+biR b pdgryft² hym pd³ trs o
+dh R+dw V+dx V u⁴ prm'w'd hym pd 'njwgyft⁵
- 673 R+83I R+ax R+ 19a 'wd 'mwšt hwyn dybhr o⁶
bi R+dw V+dx V cw'gwn zr(y)⁷ 'dwryn
- 673 R+83I R+ax R+ b 'wd⁸ pdr'št wrm h'wyndg o
bi R+dt V kw 'w mn ngwhynd⁹
- 673 R+83I R+bi R+ 20a 'wd m'nh'g 'hym o
dt V cw'gwn k[]t (w)[....]¹⁰
- 673 R+83I R+bi R b ky cmynd pd zryh̥ zyrd o¹¹
'wd⁷ wzyn[d] pd [.....]¹²
- 780 V+889 V 21a cy 'c hrw ''rg o
[](.y)[..]h¹³
- 780 V+889 V b wsn'd ''šwb o
[](')'yww¹⁴
- 780 V+889 V 22a cy 'c hrw p'dgws o
dm[...](')yww¹⁵ 'mwšt
- 780 V+889 V b 'wd w'r'n 'wd dwd o
cy (h)rwyn nyzm'n
- 780 V+889 V 23a wrwc 'wd tndwr o
'wd bybr'n¹⁶ tgrgyn
- 780 V+889 V b 'bxwn 'wd wcn o
cy hrw wrm zrhyg
- 780 V+889 V 24a 'wd pdrzyd hw pwwd o
pd wrm s(r) 'br'štg¹⁷
- 780 V+889 V b 'wd gr'yd 'w jfr'n o
ngwz'dn¹⁸ 'nd[r]

¹ *dyb(.)* [673; *tybhr̥g'*[n] dx (the only MSS.) ² -yf(t) bi. The word does not appear in 673, where 18b begins with *hym*; it was presumably written at the end of 18a (lost in this fragment) ³ *p̄t* dw ⁴ '[wd] dh ⁵ -gft with two dots over the *f* in dx (the only MS.) ⁶ *t(y)bhr* dw (this fragment, N.B., is from the same MS. as dx) ⁷ *zr* [673;](*zry*) 'dwryn dx, where the tops only of the first three letters are visible. They are, nevertheless, fairly clear. There is no trace of an *h* or a second *y*. The letters are well spaced ⁸ *u* 673 ⁹ So in dt; *n* [83I ¹⁰ *cw'* [83I; *cw'gwn* k[in 673, with room for about ten letters after *k*;]t (w)[....] dt. There are no other MSS. for the second half of 20a. ¹¹ *ky cmynd* [bi;] *pd zryh̥* [z]yrd o 673;](*h*) *zyrd* o 83I ¹² In 83I; *w(z)* [673 ¹³ Up to ''rg in 780;](.y)[..]h̥ 889 ¹⁴ Up to ''šwb in 780;](')'yww 889 ¹⁵ *dm* [780;](')yww 889 ¹⁶ *byb* [780;]br'n 889 ¹⁷ *wrm* [780;]s(r) 889, with no dot visible over the *r* ¹⁸ So in 889 only

- 18 All the demons, the banished¹ Princes, transfixed me
with fear, and dismayed me with anguish.
- 19 Their fury gathered, like a sea of fire. The seething
waves rose up that they might engulf me.²
- 20 I am like . . . which course over the heart of the ocean,
and move onward over . . .
- 21 For on every side . . . because of the turmoil [and the]
violent . . .
- 22 For in every region gathered stormy winds (?) and
rain and the fume of all fogs,
- 23 lightning and thunder and banked clouds (?) of hail,
the crash and roar of all the waves of the sea.
- 24 The skiff rises up, lifted on the crest of the wave, and
glides down into the trough, to be hidden within.

¹ For *dybhr̥g* see glossary; and now also H. W. Bailey apud M. Minovi, *Yakī az Fārsiyyāt-i Abū Nuwās*, p. 16 [= *Revue de la Faculté des Lettres*, Univ. de Téhéran, Vol. i, No. 3 (1954), p. 77].

² Cf. *Mir. Man.* iii, k 1-2; *Ps. Bk.* 54¹⁵.

- 673 V+780 V+889 V +ed V 25a 'wd pd wysp (prd)wy¹ o
(k)[](u) sp[....]²
- 673 V+780 V+dh V+ed V b 'wd 'c h(r)[w] 'rg o
'b '[³] 'ndr⁴
- 673 V+780 V+dh V 26a 'wd⁵ hrw pdbnd o
wš'd bwynd pd [....]
- 673 V+780 V+dh V b 'wd⁵ myx '[sw]nyn⁶ o
hxt⁷ bwynd pd '[....]
- 673 V+780 V+dh V 27a 'wt hrwyn drfš⁷ o
[nw]'d⁸ [p](d) hwyn nx'(b)⁹
- 673 V+dh V b 'wt 'stwn'n o
* 'mwš(t) bwynd pd 'šw(b)*¹⁰
- 673 V+ax V+bi V+dh V 28a ['wt hw](y)n sw(k)[']n¹¹ o
k[f]t bwd 'hynd 'w zryh
- 673 V+ax V+bi V+dh V b [.....]š 's(t) [o]
[']w hwyn ky 'c 'ndr
- 673 V+831 V+ax V+bi V 29a ['wt] n'w'z'n o
'd hrwyn w'd'g¹²
- 673 V+831 V+ax V+bi V b z'ryh¹³ [b](r)m[y]nd¹⁴ o
'wd bwrz 'bwrwsynd
- 673 V+831 V+bi V 30a [.....](.) 'h'z rwc o
'sp'w u 'bn's
- 673 V+831 V+bi V b [.....]h o
'(b)[..]'m'd¹⁵ (b)[](.)dmrynd¹⁶

(Seven verses missing)

¹ wysp [.](r)[.]wy (oo)[780;](.)(rd)wy o (k)[ed;](.prdw.)(673 (reading very doubtful, especially of the p; their position shows that these letters should come just before the caesura); prdw restored tentatively by H. from these various traces ²](u) sp[889 ³ Up to 'rg 780;]('rg o '(b)[673;]g o 'b '[ed ⁴]'ndr dh only ⁵ 'wt 673 ⁶ H.'s restoration; (')[780; '[..]nyn 673 ⁷ In 673 only ⁸ H.'s restoration ⁹ So in both 673 and dh; but in the latter b is almost certain ¹⁰ *—* dh has the variant:]d 'hynd pd trs ¹¹ H.'s reading from a photograph of 673 (the only MS.). The space between (k) and n seems rather wide for a single ', but there is a hole in this place which may have slightly distorted the paper ¹² So in 673; w'd]'g ax; wd']'q bi ¹³ z'ryh written after a dot at the end of 29a in 673 (the only MS.) ¹⁴ H.'s reading;](r)m[.]nd 831;]nd 673 ¹⁵ So in 673;]('m)'[831 ¹⁶ (b)[673;](.)dmrynd bi (not a complete word; there is just a possibility, however, that the division of the letters should instead be](.)d mrynd)

- 25 With all the beams (?) . . . and on every side water.
[pours?] in.
- 26 All the clamps become loosened by . . . The iron rivets
are plucked out by . . .
- 27 Each wale¹ [is dipped (?)] by these drownings. The
masts are flung together (?)² in the turmoil.³
- 28 The rudders⁴ (?) had dropped off into the sea. [Fear
grips] those on board.
- 29 The helmsmen and all the pilots weep bitterly and
lament aloud.
- 30 There was terror and wreck [before] break of day . . .

(*Seven verses missing*)

¹ There appears to be no record of a flag being used on a ship before the Middle Ages (see article 'Flag', *Ency. Brit.*, 13th ed.). *drfš* cannot therefore here mean 'pennant'; nor are the other established meanings of the word ('brightness', 'statue', or 'awl') suitable. In this context (with *hwyn nx'b*) *drfš* is apparently a part of the ship which is repeatedly submerged. Henning therefore connects it with Arm. *drauškak* 'hem, border, edge (of clothes)' (*H.A.G.* 147), and translates as 'sheer strake, wale'. [but for a subsequent suggestion by H., see glossary s.v.]

² H. suggests that '*mwšt*' may here be a copyist's mistake for '*mšt*' 'broken'.

³ Var. 'were . . . in dread'.

⁴ For *swk'n* see glossary. I am much indebted to Professor Henning for his brilliant readings and restorations here, which make it possible to understand this sea-image as a whole.

av R 38a 'wd b[38b kw t[39a cy[39b 'w[(eight
verses missing) av V 48a]stg 48b 'bj'mg 49a](')m
49b '](c) mn (eight verses missing) at R 58a 'wd k[58b
'wd h[59a 'wd h[59b 'wd[

(Approximate end of the first *handām*)

Angad Rōšnān Ia

518 R		nxw(y)[n hn]d'm	
518 V		[n](g)[d rwšn'n]	
518 R	1a	'wd pd ws 'nrywgyf(t) [o] [wx'](s'd) ¹ bwynd	
518 R	b	hrw ² [b]nd pdbnd o u n(y)xw(m)[bn] ¹ cy bndyst'n	P
518 R	2a	'wt wnw'd hrw krm o u 'xtr'n 'ywšt	
518 R	b	'wt hrw 'st'rg o wxybyy cmg wxry(d)	
518 R	3a	'wt zmyg wnw'd o mn bwng[']h 'dryy	
518 R	b	'wt 'sm'n'n bšn'n frbst (')[s](kyy) ³	P
518 R	4a	'wt hrwyn rwd'n o mn tnb'r rhg('')n	
518 R	b	(x)wš'd '(ž sr) o 'c hrwyn brhm	
518 R	5a	'wt [.....] tryx[s](y)d o mn gy'n (p)[.....]	
518 R	b	[]f(.)[] o [] wyxs['g]	[P]

(One verse missing)

¹ H.'s tentative restoration

² hrw written after two dots at the end of 1a

³ H.'s reading

38-59 (*Traces only remain*)

(Approximate end of the first canto)¹

Angad Rōšnān Ia

First canto of *Angad Rōšnān*

- 1 Through continual redemptions every band, link,
and shutter (?) of the prison becomes weakened (?).
- 2 All the comets (?) quivered, and the stars were whirled
about, and each of the planets turned awry its course.
- 3 The earth shook, my foundation beneath, and the
height of the heavens sank down above.
- 4 All the rivers, the veins of my body, dried up at (their)
source (?) in every way.
- 5 My spirit is . . . oppressed . . . stab.

(*One verse missing*)

¹ For the identification of *A.R.* I vv. 1-30 see above, pp. 28-29; for vv. 38-59 see above, pp. 33-37. *A.R.* Ia and *Ib may contain verses from within the series 38-59; but the traces of this series are too scanty for identification to be possible.

- 815 R (Sogd.)¹ 7a 'rtmy s't 'ndmyty o
ptšpry nyst o kwδtyy
- 815 R (Sogd.) b δβtyk 'nx(w)ynd o
'ty pr 'skw'mc šm'rynd
- 815 R (Pa. and Sogd.) 8a ['w]t 'bsyst rwc'n o
'wt m'h'n 'šm'r
- 815 R (Pa. and Sogd.) b ['w]t bwt wzy(n)[d] 'w c[m](g) o
cy cxr 'xtrwzn²

(Two verses missing)

- 518 V 11a 'wm p'd'n m[whr] o
'wd 'ngwšt pw(x)[g]³ P
- 518 V b (w)yš'd bwd hrw[yn] bnd o
cy mn gryw jy(w)[hr]
- 518 V+815 V (Sogd.) 12a 'wt hrwyn pw(x)g³ o
c(y d)st ['wd] 'ngwš(t)
- 518 V+815 V (Sogd.) b [wyš']d bwd hrwyn o
u 'zg(ry)s(p)'d hwyn mwhr⁴
- 518 V+815 V (Pa. and Sogd.) 13a 'wt hrwyn hwlkg⁵ o
(w)x's'd hwyn jy(w)[hr]⁶ P
- 518 V+815 V (Pa. and Sogd.) b 'wt [s]rd bwt 'hyn[d o]
hrwyn mn'n hnd'm⁷
- 518 V 14a 'wt mn z'nwg o
bst 'hynd pd trs
- 518 V b 'wt (')hxt z'wr o
cy hrw[yn] pdyšt'n

¹ In 815 the original Pa. verse preceded the Sogd. translation. The Sogdian only of vv. 7 and 12 is preserved; the Sogdian and Parthian of vv. 8 and 13

² The Sogd. version of 8 is as follows:

8a 'rtmy mydyt 'ty m'kyty (sic) o (pt)[šm'r m](n)yms

b 'ty st'ryty cxry o cn šw'(m)[ndy jyq' wβ'] (H.)

³ Or *pw(k)g*

⁴ The Sogd. version of 12 is as follows:

12a 'rtmy s't δsty o 'ty 'ngwšty pyxt o cn

b βndy xwycq 'ktnd o 'tyšn t'pyy sxwst (H.)

⁵ *hwlqg* 518

⁶ *jy(w)[...]* 518; (*jyw*)[...] 815

⁷ The Sogd. version of

13 is as follows:

13a 'rtm[y s't wr](δ)t o xw't 'ktnd cn ptšpry o

b ['r]t[my s't] 'ndmyt o 'ty py(š)yt pty syr'nd (H.)

7¹ All my limbs have connexion no longer. When again they were broken, they reflected on existence.²

8 The reckoning of my³ days and months is ended. Harm befell the course of the zodiac's wheel.

(Two verses missing)

11 The seal of my feet and the joints of my toes—each link of the life of my soul was loosed.

12 Each joint of my³ hands and of my³ fingers—each was loosed and its seal taken off.

13 All the gristly parts—their life (?) grew feeble. Cold became each one of my limbs.

14 My knees were fettered through fear, and strength was drawn out of each leg.

¹ The Sogdian is obscure, and I am much indebted to Professor Henning for allowing me to reproduce the above tentative translation.

² Presumably 'reflect on' = 'get (mentally) prepared for (the next) existence (through re-birth)'; cf. 'šm'r- = *kalpita* P 2, 626 (H.).

³ 'my' is found in the Sogdian but not the Parthian.

518 V

15a ['](w)d mn'n s[.] o

518 V

b 'wt mwhrg [o]

(End of this fragment of the first *handām*)

*Angad Rōšnān Ib

[No title]

bj R

1a
[hn](d)'m

bj R

b
 ['](w)d ny š[h](y)d '(w)[d'y](')dn¹

bj R

2a 'wm zyr(d) ['ndyšy]šn² o
 ky wysp [] cy(h)[r](g)

bj R

b (w)hyrd pd h(rwy)n o
 'wd ngw[s](t) bw[d] p(d) gryw

bj R

3a (')[wd h]mg m[n 'wš o
 cyš ny 'nd(y)[š'd]

bj R

b [....] pd (pr)[m'n]g² o
 'wd (w)xybyh []

bj R

4a
 []bwd h[ym]

bj R

b
 []ft (hy)[m]

(Six verses missing)

bj V

11a 'wm []

bj V

b (...)[....]pd[...](.)g o

bj V

12a ['w](d) t'[r kdwm dy]d¹ kft o
 mn'n [hnd']m z'w[r]

bj V

b 'wm (gr)y[w y]wb['d] o
 pd h(rwyn g)[w]ng

¹ Reading suggested by H.² Restoration suggested by H.

15 My . . . and the vertebrae . . .

(End of this fragment of the first canto)¹

*Angad Rōšnān Ib

[*No title*]

1 . . . limbs . . . and cannot save (itself).

2 And my heart's ἐνθύμησις, which [observed] the manifold shapes (of Darkness), was shaken by it all, and concealed itself within the soul.

3 And my whole φρόνησις could no longer plan at all; [I was disabled] in my λογισμός, and in my own . . .

4 . . . I became . . . I . . .

(*Six verses missing*)

11 And my . . .

12 And [when I saw] the Dark, the strength of my limbs collapsed; and my soul moaned at all (its) forms.

¹ For the identification of these verses see above, p. 29.

bj V 13a [ʾwd] (t)yšt¹ ʾhym o
 hrw (h)n[dʾ](m) ʾ[nd]r
 bj V b [] y(w)b(h)[r] o
 mn gy[ʾn pd] grʾn[yft]

 bj V 14a []b[]

 bj V b [] hnd[ʾm]

(End of this fragment of the first (?) *handām*)

Angad Rōšnān II

863 R bdyg [hndʾm]
 863 V [ʾngd r](w)šnʾn

 863 R 1a ʾwt ʾdwr cy pt hwy(n) [o]

 863 R b ʾwt kyc ny ʾst o
 ky []

 863 R 2a ʾwt hrwyn wrdg o
 ʾb[]
 863 R b ʾsynd ʾwt bwynd [o]

 863 R 3a [ʾ](wt) mʾ ʾzyc gr[ʾyʾn² o]

 863 R b [.....] (ʾ)zwrtʾn u [o]

(Seven verses missing)

863 V 11a
 [](.) bndgyft wrtʾh
 863 V b
 [] ʾndʾg yʾdʾh

¹ Reading suggested by H.; the tip only of the top-stroke of *t* is visible

² H.'s restoration

13 I was affrighted; all my limbs within [were sick with]
illness, my spirit (was) heavy.

14 . . . limbs . . .

(End of this fragment of the first (?) canto)¹

Angad Rōšnān II

Second canto of *Angad Rōšnān*

1 The fire in them . . . There is none who . . .

2 Every captive . . . They approach and become . . .

3 May I not also gl[ide down] . . . May I [not] turn back
and . . .

(*Seven verses missing*)

11 . . . He (?) shall change [in] bondage . . . sorrow shall
overtake [him?].

¹ For the allocation of these verses see above, pp. 41-42.

863 V	12a
	[ʷ]t̄ wysp jfr ngwhʰ
863 V	b
	[. . .](.)ʰ wyspcʰšnyg
863 V	13a
	[. . .](xt) [. . .] pt̄ tʰ[r]
863 V	b
	[. . .]t̄ u [. . .]w[. . .]

(End of this fragment of the second *handām*)

Angad Rōšnān IIa

[No title]

at V 1a]bʰr 1b](g)ndyn 2a]syd 2b](s)ʰd (seven
 verses missing) ar R 1ob ʷw[11a ʷwd[11b ʷwd[
 12a ʷwd[12b ʷwd[(seven verses missing) ar V 2ob
]dwd¹ 21a ʰb](xr)ws(ʰ)m 21b p]d ʰxšd 22a](y)ʰwr
 22b](.)myn (seven verses missing) ap R 3ob ʷwd[
 31a ʷwʰg[wn 31b ʷwm[32a ʷwd(z)[32b kʷ b[(seven
 verses missing) ap V 40a](g) 40b]f̄t̄ 41a]p̄dbnd
 41b]trs 42a](.)hrg 42b]nd (seven verses missing)
 an R 50a (ʰ)wd[50b kym[(Space of one verse left blank)

(End of the second *handām*)²

[For Angad Rōšnān III see opposite]

¹ Not a complete word.

² For the identification of *A.R.* IIa and III see above, pp. 33–37. No translation is offered here of these scantily preserved verses, nor of those with the signatures *A.R.* IV and V (see below, pp. 136, 137).

12 ... and shall be engulfed in each abyss ... shall ...
with all the flavours.¹

13 ... in darkness ... and ...

(End of this fragment of the second canto)²

Angad Rōšnān III

[No title]

an R 1a *ky k'*[1b *'wm*[(seven verses missing) an V 9a
]'*n* 9b](*t*)'*m* 10a]*mg* 10b]'*štynd* 11a]*d'hw'n*
11b]*ywg* (seven verses missing) al R 19a *'w*[19b *'c*[
20a *kw* '[' 20b *kw* '[' 21a *kw* (')[21b *kw* '['³ (seven
verses missing) al V 29a]*ng* 29b](*d*)*yn*⁴ 30a]'*šyxt*
30b]*bryn* 31a]'*šyft* 31b](*.*)*g* (seven verses missing)
aj R 39a *'w*[39b *kym*[40a *'wd* (*m*)[40b]'*ryg*[
41a *'wd*[(seven verses missing) aj V 49a]*yn* 49b
]*d'n* 50a](')*jwn* 50b]*sm'n* 51a](*.*)*w'r* (seven
verses missing) ah R 59a *'w*[59b *'wd*[60a *'wd*
(*.*)[60b *'wd*[61a *'w*[61b *'(c)*[(seven verses
missing) ah V 69a](*c*)[']*dn* 69b *'b*] *n's* 70a](*k*)[*.*.]
(*d*)*yn*⁴ 70b](*t*)'*ryg* 71a](*n*)*dg* 71b]*yyg*

(Approximate end of the third *handām*)⁵

¹ The five kinds of taste belong to the world of Darkness. See Henning, *BSOAS*. xii, p. 55 (with references).

² For the identification of these verses see above, p. 29.

³ *sic*: the opening letters of ll. 20a-21b are identical.

⁴ Not a complete word.

⁵ See p. 128 n. 2.

*Angad Rōšnān IIIa

[No title]

bp R	1a kym bwjy(n)[dyh o]

bp R	b 'wm kr' pnd'[n o]

bp R	2a kym (rz)wr ¹ krynd[yh o]

bp R	b pd hw pnd'n o
	n[]
bp R	3a []nys[]

bp R	b []s[]

(Seven verses missing)

bp V	11a
	[br]'dr'n b(rm)y(nd) ²
bp V	b
	[](..)dg k'(..)'n
bp V	12a
	[]'w'dg pd '(n)[r]gyft ²
bp V	b
	[h]ynz'wryft bšn'n
bp V	13a
	[]dyft[]

(End of this fragment of the third (?) *handām*)¹ There is a hole above the word, so that the dot over the *r* has disappeared² Reading suggested by H.

*Angad Rōšnān IIIa

[No title]

1 Who shall save me . . . and make for me a path. . . .?

2 Who shall make straight for me . . . by that path . . . ?

3 (*Traces only are legible*)(*Seven verses missing*)

11 . . . the brethren (?) weep (?) . . .

12 . . . in indignity (?) . . . stature of might.

13 (*Traces only are legible*)(End of this fragment of the third (?) canto)¹

¹ For the allocation of *A.R. IIIa, b, and c see above, p. 42. If these fragments belong in fact to the third canto, their verses come presumably from within the series of verses reproduced here as A.R. III (above, p. 129); but the traces of these verses are too scanty for identification to be possible.

*Angad Rōšnān IIIb

[No title]

co R 1a
[](... p)[d] (dwjx)

co R b
['](by) rwd u 'xšd

co R 2a [wyd]'rynd(yy)¹ o
wysp zwnws wymnd

co R b [p]hrg o
u phrgb'n('n) 'm'nwd

(Seven verses missing)

cg R 10a qy(m) [o]

cg R b cy 'w jm'[n
.

cg R+co V 11a kym² bwj[lyndyy]

cg R+co V b cy pdr'st '[štyd]
.

cg R+co V 12a kym² 'bd'cyndyy o
'c hrw []

cg R+co V b wxšyndg 'dwr o
'wd h(w) tnng ('')[bn's]

(Seven verses missing)

cg V 20a
[]nd

cg V b
(c)y hw'n r(w).

¹ Reading suggested by H.² qym cg

*Angad Rōšnān IIIb

[No title]

1 . . . in hell (?) . . . without pity or compassion.

2 . . . shall cause to pass (?) the borders of each zone . . .
watch-posts and (their) guardians, supporting one
another (?).

(Seven verses missing)

10 Who . . . me . . . ? For at the hour [of death?] . . .

11 Who [shall] save me . . . ? For [it is] prepared . . .

12 Who shall free me from every . . . (from) blazing fire
and the distress of [destruction]?

(Seven verses missing)

20 . . . of agony . . .

cg V	21a
	[h](w)yn wcn dy(b)hr
cg V	b
	hrw (zyd)n'[n] ¹
cg V	22a
	hrwyn (s)[.](nwr) ²

(End of this fragment of the third (?) *handām*)

*Angad Rōšnān IIIc

[No title]

de R ³	1a
	hwcyhryft n[y 'st]
de R	b
	[']wd kd'c ny 'ng(')[w](g) ⁴
de R	2a
	['](c) 'ym zmyg tyš[tyn]
de R	b [.](b) o
	'sm'n'n ky kfynd
de R	3a [. w]'yndyy o
	'(w hw) zmyg 'by lr(z)
de R	b [. b](š)n'n 'rg'w o
	fr'gwd [.]
(Seven verses missing)	
de V	11a [.](y)g bryndyh [o]
de V	b [ky](m) pd(w')c(')h rw[dwr o]

de V	12a [ky]m drwšt qryndy[h o]

de V	b cy hw (...)fr'ynd o
	h(.)[.]

¹ Reading suggested by H., as a mistake possibly for *zynd'n* followed by two dots, slightly blurred. These may be only ornamental margins are preserved in this fragment, and the identification of its recto and verso pages is conjectural

² The (r) is
³ No
⁴ Reading suggested by H.

21 . . . the anger of their (?) voices . . . all prisons (?).

22 . . . every . . .

(End of this fragment of the third (?) canto)¹

*Angad Rōšnān IIIc

[*No title*]

1 . . . [there is] no beauty . . . and never any ending.

2 . . . from this dreadful earth . . . the heavens which fall.

3 [Who] shall lead (?) [me] to that land without tremors?
 . . . noble stature (?) . . .

(*Seven verses missing*)

11 [Who] shall carry [me . . .]? [Who] shall answer me
 with pity (?) . . . ?

12 [Who] shall make me whole . . .? For the . . .

¹ For these verses see above, p. 131 n. 1.

13 Who shall take off from me this . . . body, and clothe
[me] in a new body . . . ?

(End of this fragment of the third (?) canto)¹

Angad Rōšnān V

[No title]

ai R 1b 'w[2a 'w(.)[2b 'wd[3a 'w[3b '(w)[
(seven verses missing) ai V 11b y'w]yd'n 12a]ywg 12b
]t'n 13a]ft 13b](.)² (seven verses missing) ak R 21b
'[22a 'w(m)[22b bw[(eight verses missing) ak V 31b
](')rg 32a]ng 32b](h)ym 33a](n)g 33b](n)g (seven
verses missing) am R 41a (k)[41b g(r)[42a kym[
42b 'w(m)[43a (k)y[(seven verses missing) am V 51a
](h)g 51b r](y)mn 52a]s'g'n 52b](')xyd 53a]tyn
bm R 54a 'wm 'yd(w)]y'h 54b cy hzw b[55a kym wd'r'h[
55b 'wm kr'h w(.)[(five verses missing) ao R 61a k(y)m[
61b 'w[62a ms[62b 'wd[63a 'w[63b k[bm V 64b
](')d (Space of one verse left blank on bm V)

(End of the fifth *handām*)³

¹ For these verses see above, p. 131 n. 1.

² The final flourish of the letter only is visible.

³ See p. 136 n. 3.

Angad Rōšnān VI

96 R+175 R+675 R+ db R	šhwm hnd'm
96 V+175 V+675 V+ db V	'ngd rwšn'n
bm V+dn R	1a 'wṭ kd 'ymyn w'xtwm o pṭ gryw ¹ wnwhg
bm V+dn R	b dy(d)wm bwj'gr o cy prw'n mn t''b'd ²
dn R	2a 'wm dyd dydn o cy hrwyn n'w'z'n
dn R	b ky 'd hw 'wsxt o kwm gryw wyn'rynd
dn R	3a 'wm cšm pdr'z'd o 'w hw kr'n p'dgws
dn R	b 'wm dyd kw ngwst o hrwyn mrn fryšṭg
dn R	4a 'wṭ hrwyn wyg'nyšn o dwr bwṭ 'hynd 'ž mn
dn R	b 'wṭ gr'(n) ³ ywbhr o 'wd hwyn tng 'njwgyfṭ
dn R	5a 'wṭ ngwst hwyn dydyn ⁴ o 'wš'n t'r 'bnfṭ
dn R	b 'wṭ hrw cyhrg o 'wṭ ywd ''wyndq
dn V	6a [r]wšn o wystrg 'wṭ zbyn
dn V	b ('w)[ṭ p](wr) ⁵ š'dyfṭ o pṭ hrw mn m'nq

¹ g'[L. (from dn only);]ryw is clearly preserved on bm, and the lower part of these three letters is just visible after the g on dn ² t'b'[d] dn ³ H.'s reading; gd hr[w] L. ⁴ sic; cf. A.R. I 12a (variant in du, a fragment from the same MS. as dn) ⁵ H.'s reading; [.....]yd L.

Angad Rōšnān VI

Sixth canto of *Angad Rōšnān*

- 1 When I had said these words, with soul a-tremble,
I beheld the Saviour as he shone before me.
- 2 I beheld the sight of all the Helmsmen, who had de-
scended with him to array my soul.
- 3 I lifted up my eyes toward that direction, and saw all
deaths were hidden by the Envoy.
- 4 All ravages had become remote from me, and grievous
sickness, and the anguish of their distress.
- 5 The sight of them was hidden, their darkness had fled
away. All (was divine) nature, without peer.¹
- 6 [There shone forth] Light, elating and lovely [and
full] of gladness,² pervading all my mind.

¹ This translation of 5b was suggested by Professor Henning.

² Cf. *Ps. Bk.* 38³⁰.

ao V+dn V	7a 'wṭ 'd mn wy'wrd pd (')[n]w(ry)d ¹ š'dyfṭ
ao V+dn V	b 'wm gryw pdr'z'd o '(ž) (gmb)[yr] g(r)[']nyfṭ ²
ao V+dn V	8a 'w(t) ³ w'cyd 'w mn o 'wr gy'n m(') tyrs'h ⁴
ao V+dn V	b 'z hym tw mnwhmyd o u frmnywg mwjdg ⁵
ao V+dn V	9a 'wṭ tw 'yy mn tn o pdmwc[n](y)g
ao V+dn V	b cy 'hr's'd z'wr'n o (. .)[.](w)y(. .)b.n
dn V	10a 'wṭ 'z hym tw rwšn o '(sp)yxt hsyng
dn V	b mnwhmyd kl'n o 'wṭ frmny(y)w[g] ⁶ 'spwr (<i>Six verses missing</i>)
aq R	17a (')[. o]
aq R	b 'w[. o]
aq R	18a 'wd [. o]
aq R	b 'wd [. o]
aq R	19a '(w)[. o]
aq R	b '[. o]
	(<i>One verse missing</i>)
db R ⁷	21a ['wd tw 'y](y) mn sxw(n) o 'wd zyn rzmg'hyyg
db R	b [kym bwxt 'c zm]bg o 'wd [h](r)w bzkr'n 'spwr

p

¹ H.'s restoration; (')[.]w(')d L. ² H.'s reading; .(tmst)g .[.](nyf)ṭ L.;]nyfṭ clear on ao ³ 'wš L.; a hole has destroyed the top-stroke of (t) on dn (the only MS.)
⁴ tyr]s' ao ⁵ mw(hr)g L. (from dn only);](w)jdg clear on ao ⁶ L.'s reading
⁷ The exact place of this fragment within the canto is uncertain; see above, pp. 37-38.

7 In joy unbounded he spoke with me, raising up my soul
from deep affliction (?).

8 To me he sayeth, Come, spirit! fear not. I am thy
Mind, thy glad tidings of hope.¹

9 And thou art the . . . garment of my body, which
brought dismay to the Powers (of Darkness)² . . .

10 I am thy Light, radiant, primeval, thy Great Mind
and complete hope.

(Six verses missing)

17-19 . . . and . . . and . . .

(One verse missing)

21 Thou art my word,³ and my panoply of war,⁴ [which
saved me] fully [from the fight], and [from] all sinners.

¹ The remainder of this canto evidently consists entirely of the Saviour's words to the soul; see above, p. 14 with n. 1.

² Cf. *Ps. Bk.* 116²⁶⁻²⁷; *Keph.* li.

³ See *Mir. Man.* iii, g 129-32 and n. 2 with reference.

⁴ Cf. Sg 3b (see Henning, *N.G.G.W.*, 1932, pp. 218-19).

- db R 22a [drfš]¹ hym tw bwrzw'r o
(')wd nyš'n hsyng
- db R b
cy hrwyn qyrdg'n
- db R 23a
[](.)'n p(r)[y]'by[d] lrz
- db R b [](.)d gryw (o) p
'w[]
- db R 24a [](.....)bg o
[.....] cy g[...]²
- db R b ky [] o]
[](s)[...]
- (*Two verses missing*)
- aq V 27a
[]n
- aq V b
[](y)ft
- aq V 28a
[]s
- aq V b
[]dy](j)w'r
- aq V 29a
[]d'n
- aq V b
[](j)d
- (*One verse missing*)
- db V 31a 'wd s'w'n u 'wjn'n o
'w hwyn (')[.....]
- db V b cy hrw dyw'n o p
ky pd hrw b(.)[.....]
- db V 32a 'wd 'w tw wyš'h'n o
'c hrw (b)nd[yst'n]
- db V b 'wd dwr kr'n 'w tw o
'c hrw jx(m) [u dyjw'r]

¹ Restored on analogy with *Mir. Man.* iii, o 17-21² The word beginning g[is written at the beginning of 24b and followed by a dot

22 I am thy exalted [standard], thy primeval sign . . . of every act.

23 . . . trembling overtakes . . . soul.

24 (*Traces only legible*)

(*Two verses missing*)

27 (*Traces only legible*)

28 . . . affliction.

29 (*Traces only legible*)

(*One verse missing*)

31 I shall crush¹ and slay those . . . of all the demons, who . . . in every . . .

32 From each dungeon (?) shall I release thee, bearing thee afar from all wounds [and afflictions].

¹ Cf. *Ps. Bk.* 26²⁴.

- db V 33a 'w(d) 'zw'y'n 'c hw (o)
['b](j)'m[yšn] P
- db V b ['wd 'c] hrw zmbg o
ny tyrs['h y'wyd'n]
- db V 34a 'wṭ (...) 'n[j](w)gyft o
pd []
- db V b
['wd 'c] hrwyn wyg['nyšn]
- (Three verses missing)
- 326 R+as R 38a 'wd [p](d) k(...)ng
- 326 R+as R b 'wd¹ pd 'dwr [. . . o]
.
- 326 R+as R 39a 'wṭ² hrw z'w[r . . . o]
- 326 R+as R b 'zyš('n)³[. . . o]
.
- 326 R 40a 'wṭ (t)[w 'yy . . . o]
.
- (One verse missing)
- 675 R+dp R 42a 'wd 'w tw fry'n o
mn nys'g cyhrg hwcyhryft
- 675 R+dp R b ('c) hwyn 'zw'y'n o
'wd ['c]⁴ hrwyn zynd'n
- 675 R+dp R 43a 'z 'w tw bwj'n o
'c hrwyn 'bn's
- 675 R+dp R b ['wd 'c h]rwyn jxm o
y'wyd'n 'bd'c'n P
- 675 R+dp R+dq R 44a 'wṭ h[rwyn r]ymn 'wṭ⁵ jnng⁶ o
cy tw wyd'r''d⁷
- 675 R+dp R+dq R b [pw'c'n] ('c) tw o
pd⁸ rwšn 'spwr

¹ 'wṭ 326 ² u as ³ So in 326; '(z)[as
visible, but cramped and illegible ⁵ u 675

⁷ So in 675;]('r'd dp

⁸ p̄t̄ dq

⁴ The letters are
⁶ So in 675 and dq

33 I shall lead (thee) forth from this torture (?) . . . Thou shalt no [more] feel fear at each encounter.

34 And . . . anguish through . . . [from] all ravages.

(Three verses missing)

38 . . . and through fire . . .

39 All the (Dark) Powers . . . by them I . . .

40 And thou [art] . . .

(One verse missing)

42 Beloved! beauty of my bright nature! From these shall I lead thee forth, and [from] all prisons.

43 I shall save thee from all perdition, and free thee for ever [from] all wounds.

44 Through perfect Light [I shall cleanse] from thee all the filth and corrosion that thou hast passed through.¹

¹ Cf. M 551 R II 3-5 (*H.-R.* ii, p. 67; *Man. St.*, p. 29).

675 R+dp R+dq R	45a	[ʔwt] zryy jfr'n o kw pd ¹ hwyn nx'b ² šwd 'yy	P
675 R+dp R+dq R	b	[kr'](n) '(z)'(d) ³ 'c hw o 'wd ⁴ ('c) ⁵ hrwyn wrm'n ⁶	
675 R	46a	. . . . . (c)y pd tw ...st'd	
675 R	b	. . . . . [ʔ]wd 'nj[wgyf]t ⁷ (k)(...)n'n	
dp V	47a	'wt (')[[.] tw hnd'm	
dp V	b	dwr (kr)[ʔn ? ⁸ o]	
326 V+as V+dp V	48a	'[[.] tw hnd'm	
326 V+as V+dp V	b	'[[. b](z)yškyft ⁹ 'spwr	
326 V+as V+dp V+ dq V	49a	'z 'w tw (')[bd](')c'n o 'c hrwyn ywbhr	
326 V+as V+dp V+ dq V	b	'wt 'c hr(w)[y](n) tng o 'c kw tw brm'd	
326 V+dp V+dq V	50a	'wt ms pt b(zkr) ¹⁰ o dst ny 'nd's'd ws'n ¹¹	
326 V+dp V+dq V	b	cym wxybyy 'yy o y'wyd'n pt r'styft	
88 I R+96 R	51a	'wd ¹² tw 'yy ng'n ¹³ o sr cy mn frg'w	P
88 I R+96 R	b	'wd mwrgryd o cy hrw yzd'n hwcyhryft	

¹ pt dq ² So in 675; in dp a small *b* is written over the *š* of]šwd, as if nx'b had been omitted, and then inserted above the line ³ So in dq only
⁴ 'wt dq ⁵ 'c omitted in 675 ⁶ So in dp; wrm'n 675 ⁷ H.'s reading; the dot of the *f*] is visible before the *t* ⁸ The *k* seems to have a dot, as well as the (*r*?); but several pages of the MS. represented by dp are flecked with dots ⁹ H.'s restoration from 326 (the only MS.) ¹⁰ b(zk)[dp;](r)o dq ¹¹ ws[dq;]'n 326. The position of the letters on the two fragments makes it certain that they should be joined as above ¹² 'wt 96
¹³ So in 96; [...](g)'n 88 I

45 I shall deliver (thee) from all the waves of the sea, and
from its deep wherein thou hast gone through these
drownings.

46 . . . which . . . through thee . . . and I shall . . . the
anguish.

47 And . . . [I shall] take [thee] afar [from] . . .

48 . . . thy limbs . . . [through] perfect healing.

49 I shall set thee free from every sickness,¹ and from
every distress at which thou hast wept.

50 I shall not wish to leave thee longer in the hands of
the Sinner;² for thou art my own, in truth, for ever.

51 Thou art the buried treasure,³ the chief of my wealth,
the pearl which (is) the beauty of all the gods.

¹ Cf. *Ps. Bk.* 153³.

² For this translation of 50a I am indebted to Professor Henning.

³ Cf. *Mir. Man.* iii, h 108-9; and see glossary under *ng'n*.

- 88 I R+96 R+675 V 52a 'wd 'z hym r'styft o
cy kyšt pd tw hnd'm¹
- 88 I R+96 R+675 V b 'wd gryw bšn'n o
tw mnwhmyd š'dyft²
- 88 I R+96 R+675 V 53a 'wd tw 'yy mn fry'n o
'wd hnd'm frhyft³
- 88 I R+96 R+675 V b 'wd nr mnwhmyd o
mn hnd'm⁴ cyhrg P
- 88 I R+96 R+675 V 54a 'wd 'z hym rwšn o
cy hmg tw dysm'n
- 88 I R+96 R+675 V b tw gryw 'bryn o
'wd bwn cy jywhr
- 88 I R+96 R+675 V 55a 'wd 'c⁵ mn hnd'm šwyyft o
+bh R '[w]sxt⁶ 'yy 'ž nwx⁷
- 88 I R+96 R+675 V b 'w wy'g'n t'ryg o
+bh R 'wš'n rwšn bwd 'yy P
- 88 I R+96 R+675 V 56a 'wd pd tw bst dydym o
+bh R 'w hrwyn dwšmnyn⁸
- 88 I R+96 R+675 V b 'wd⁹ bwd 'gs u pdyxš'h'd o
+bh R pd jmnyn 'xšyndyft⁸
- 88 I R+96 R 57a 'wd¹⁰ tw wsn'd o
bwd zmbg u wnwh[q]⁸
- 88 I R+96 R+au R b pd hrwyn 'sm'n o
u pwrt⁸ cy zmyg(')[n]⁸ [p]
- 88 I R+96 R+au R 58a 'wd¹⁰ tw wsn'd o
tcynd ['wd pwynd¹¹]
- 88 I R+96 R+au R b hrwyn z'wr'n o
'br [.....]
- 96 R+au R 59a 'wt tw wsn'd o
pšt(g)¹²[]
- 96 R+au R b ['wd]¹³ wysp z'wr'n o
'wd [] [p]

¹ So in 88 I; *hndm* with two dots beneath the *d* in 675 ² So in 88 I; -yyft
675 ³ *frhyft* 88 I; *fr(h)[y](ft)* 96 ⁴ *hnd'm* 88 I ⁵ 'ž 96
⁶ So 88 I; *wsxt* (*sic*) 6; not preserved on 675 ⁷ *nwx* written at the be-
ginning of 55b in 96 and 675, and followed by a dot ⁸ In 96 only ⁹ *u*
96, 675; written after a dot at the end of 56a in 96 and bh ¹⁰ 'wt 96 ¹¹ H.'s
restoration ¹² In 96 only ¹³ 'wd not visible in 96, being presumably
written at the end of 59a

- 52 And I am the righteousness sown in thy limbs, and
(in) the stature of (thy) soul—the gladness of thy
Mind.
- 53 Thou art my Beloved, the Love¹ in my limbs; and the
heroic Mind, the essence of my limbs.
- 54 And I am the Light of thy whole structure,² thy
soul above and base of life.
- 55 From the holiness of my limbs didst thou descend in
the beginning into the dark places, and didst become
their Light.
- 56 Through thee a diadem was bound on all (our) foes.
It became apparent and held sway during the hours of
tyranny.
- 57 For thy sake was there battle and tremor in all the
heavens and the bridges of the earths.
- 58 For thy sake ran [and sped] all the (Dark) Powers over
...
- 59 For thy sake were bound [the Princes] and all the
(Dark) Powers, and . . .

¹ Cf. *Ps. Bk.* 116²⁶; 172^{13, 24}.

² Cf. *ibid.* 152¹⁹⁻²⁰.

96 R	60a	'wt̄ tw wsn'd o wyg[]	
96 R	b	'zgrysp'd dydym [o]	
88 I V+ 96 V	61a	tw wsn'd t'b'd o 'wd ¹ bwd 'gs fryšt̄g'n	
88 I V+96 V	b	ky 'br rwšn wcyhynd o u t'r bwn 'bgwndynd	P
88 I V+96 V+175 R	62a	'wd bg'n tw wsn'd o 'zgd 'wd ¹ bwd 'gs ²	
88 I V+96 V+175 R	b	'wd wygnd 'w mrn o 'wd 'w t'r 'wj ³	
88 I V+96 V+175 R	63a	'wd tw 'yy bwxtgyft o cy bwrzw''r ⁴	
88 I V+96 V+175 R	b	'wd nyš'n cy rwšn o ky 'w t'r pzdyd ⁵	P
88 I V+96 V+175 R	64a	'wd 'z 'gd hym o kw 'c ⁶ bzkr bwj'n	
88 I V+96 V+175 R	b	'c ⁷ drd kr'n ⁸ drwšt o u ⁹ tw zyrd kr'n š'dyft ¹⁰	
88 I V+96 V+175 R +bh V	65a	'wd hrw cy tw wx'št 'c ¹¹ mn o dh'n 'w tw	
88 I V+96 V+175 R +bh V	b	'wd ¹² nw'g kr'n ¹³ tw 'r'm o pd bwrz šhrd'ryft ¹⁴	P
88 I V+96 V+175 R +bh V	66a	'wd ¹⁵ wyš'h'n ¹⁶ prw'n tw o br pd hrw 'sm'n	
88 I V+96 V+175 R +bh V	b	'wd nmrz'n tw r'h̄ o 'by trs 'wd ¹⁷ kwbg ¹⁸	

¹ u 96 ² 'gs 175 ³ 'wwjd 175 ⁴ So in all three MSS.
⁵ pzdyd 175 ⁶ 'ž 96 ⁷ So in 88 I and 96; in 96 it is written after a
dot at the end of 64a; 'ž 175 ⁸ qr'n 88 I ⁹ drwšt o u 88 I, 175. In 96
this was also written first, but afterwards erased and š'dyft written over it (H.).
The two dots of u are still visible above the t, and the tail-stroke of the former
t above the f of š'dyft; and dr are still legible beneath the š ¹⁰ -yft 96
¹¹ 'ž 96 ¹² Written after a dot at the end of 65a in 96 and bh; u 96
¹³ qr'n 88 I ¹⁴ -yft 96 ¹⁵ u 175 ¹⁶ So in 96; wš'h'n 175 ¹⁷ u 96
¹⁸ So in 96; qwbg 88 I; kw[175

- 60 For thy sake . . . the diadem was taken away . . .
- 61 For thy sake shone forth the Apostles and became apparent, who reveal the Light above, and uncover the root of Darkness.
- 62 For thy sake the Gods went forth and became apparent. They struck down Death, and Darkness they slew.
- 63 Thou art the exalted Trophy, the sign of Light that puts Darkness to flight.
- 64 And I am come forth to save (thee) from the Sinner, to make (thee) whole from pain, and to bring gladness to thy heart.
- 65 All thou hast desired of me I shall bestow upon thee. I shall make new thy place within the lofty kingdom.
- 66 I shall set open before thee the gates in all the heavens,¹ and shall make smooth thy path, free from terror and vexation.

¹ Cf. *Ps. Bk.* 81⁶⁻⁷; 19²⁴. For the firmaments with their gates see Henning, *BSOAS.* xii, pp. 311 et seq., with references.

- 88 I V+96 V+175 R 67a 'wd¹ 'st'n'n pd z'wr o
u ngwnd'n pd frhyft² P
- 88 I V+96 V+175 R+ au V b 'wd¹ w'y'n 'w pdyšt o
'w wy'g 'frydg³
- 88 I V+96 V+175 R+ au V 68a 'wt hw pydr 'rg'w o
y'wyd'n tw nm'y'n
- 88 I V+96 V+175 R+ au V b 'wd pd pw'g p'db'rg⁴ o
prw'n 'ydw'y'n
- 96 V+175 R+au V 69a 'wt hw rwšn'n m'd⁵ o
'w tw nm'y'n⁶ P
- 96 V+175 R+au V b 'wd⁷ y'wyd'n wšmn'⁸ o
pd 'st'w'dg š'dyft⁹
- 96 V+175 R+au V 70a ['wd 'bdy]s'n 'w tw o
br'dr'n kyrbkr'n¹⁰
- 96 V+175 R+au V b ['rg](¹¹)w o
ky pwr pd¹¹ š'dyft¹²
- 91 R+175 R 71a 'wd y'w(yd)[n m'n]'h¹³ o
'[d] hrwyn š'dcn P
- 91 R+175 R b nyrd hrw rdnyn o
'wd bg'n pdyšfr'wnd
- 91 R+175 V 72a 'wd trs 'wd mrn o
ny pry'b'h¹⁴ y'wyd'n
- 91 R+175 V b 'wd ny wyg'nyšn o
tnng¹⁵ 'wd 'xš'dyft
- 91 R+175 V+ef R 73a 'wd bw'h¹⁶ tw 'ngwn o
pd wy'g cy bwxtgyft¹⁷ P
- 91 R+175 V+ef R b 'd hrw yzd'n o
'wd r'myšn m'nynd'n
- 91 R+175 V+ef R (*Space of one verse left blank*)

(End of the sixth *handām*)

¹ ['w]t 96 ² -yft 96 ³ 'fryydg 88 I, 175;]dg au ⁴ So in 175;
]b'rg 96 (the only other MS.) ⁵ rwšn'n m'd in 175 only ⁶ nm'y'n 175
⁷ So in 96, where it is written after a dot at the end of 69a; (u) 175 ⁸ So
in 175 only ⁹ -yft 96, au ¹⁰ qyrbkr'n 175 ¹¹ pt 175 ¹² -dyyft
175 ¹³ H.'s restoration; y'w(yd)[.](.) o 91;]'h o 175 ¹⁴ pry'b'
175 ¹⁵ So in both MSS. ¹⁶]w'h 91; bw' 175 ¹⁷ In ef the gyft of
bwxtgyft is written at the beginning of 73b and followed by a dot

- 67 I shall take (thee) with might, and enfold (thee) with love, and lead (thee) to (thy) home, the blessed abode¹.
- 68 For ever shall I show to thee the noble Father²; I shall lead thee in, into (his) presence, in pure raiment.
- 69 I shall show to thee the Mother of the beings of Light. For ever shalt thou rejoice in lauded happiness.
- 70 I shall reveal to thee the holy Brethren, the noble (?) . . . , who are filled with happiness.
- 71 For ever shalt thou [dwell] joyful among them all, beside all the Jewels and the venerable Gods.
- 72 Fear and death shall never overtake (thee more), nor ravage, distress and wretchedness.
- 73 Rest shall be thine in the place of salvation, in the company of all the Gods and those who dwell in quietness.

(End of the sixth canto)³

¹ i.e. the New Paradise; see above, p. 22.

² i.e. the First Man; see loc. cit.

³ For the identification of *A.R.* VI vv. 1-34 see above, pp. 35-38; for vv. 38-73 see above, pp. 26-27 and p. 65 n. 1.

Angad Rōšnān VII

91 R+287 R+517 R+

774 R+aa R

hftwm hnd'm¹

91 V+287 V+517 V+

774 V+aa V

'ngd rwšn'n

91 R+175 V

1a 's'h tw gy'n o
'wd ms m' tyrs'h

91 R+175 V

b mrn kft² 'h'z o
'wd ywbhr 'bnft³

91 R+175 V+690 R

2a 'wd 'bsyst pdm'n o
cy rwc'n 'ywštg

91 R+175 V+690 R

b 'wš gd 'sp'w o
pd myg'n "dwryyn⁴

P

91 R+175 V+439 R+
690 R3a 's'h tw gy'n o
'wd fr'c c'm'h91 R+175 V+439 R+
690 Rb 'wd m' bw'h⁵ 'wrjwg o
'br kdg dyjw'ryft⁶91 R+175 V+439 R+
690 R+aw R4a ky hmg 'bn's o
'wd⁷ 'njwgyft⁸ cy mwrt⁹91 R+175 V+439 R+
690 R+aw Rb 'wd wxd wynw'd¹⁰ 'yy o
'c tw bwn 'r'm¹¹

P

175 V+439 R+aw R

5a 'wd hrwyn tng¹² o
cy tw wm'd pd nrh

175 V+439 R+aw R

b frh'h¹³ hw wd'r'd o
'c hs 'wd¹⁴ 'c nwx

175 V+439 R

6a ms 'wr 's'h o
pd š'dyft¹⁵ 'by zryq¹⁶

175 V+439 R

b 'wd hw'r'm m' sy'h¹⁷ o
pd mrnyn 'r'm

P

¹ hnd'm 91 ² qft 91 ³ 'bnft 175 ⁴ So in 175; "d(wr)[91
⁵ bw' 175 ⁶ -yft 91 ⁷ u 175 ⁸ -yft 439 ⁹ So in 91 and
175; mw(r)[439 ¹⁰ So in 690; wnw'd 91, 175 ¹¹ So in 439; "r'm 91;
'r'm 175 ¹² So in 175 (the only MS.) ¹³ So in 175; f[aw ¹⁴ u 175
¹⁵ -yft (sic) 439 ¹⁶ So in 439 (the only MS.) ¹⁷ The first half of 6b
is in 175 only

Angad Rōšnān VII

Seventh canto of *Angad Rōšnān*

- 1 Come, spirit, fear no more! Death has fallen, and sickness fled away.
- 2 The term of troubled days is ended, its terror departed amid clouds of fire.
- 3 Come, spirit, step forth! Let there be no desire for the house of affliction,¹
- 4 which is wholly destruction and the anguish of death.² Truly thou wast cast out from thy native abode.
- 5 And all the pangs thou hast suffered in hell thou hast undergone for this, in the outset and beginning.
- 6 Come yet nearer, in gladness without regret; lie not content in the dwelling of death.

¹ Cf. *Ps. Bk.* 70²⁹⁻³⁰.

² Cf. *ibid.* 87¹⁻².

- 91 V+175 V 7a (m')¹ 'zwrt' 'wd wyn'h o
t(n)b'ryn² cyhrg
- 91 V+175 V b (cy)¹ synd³ pd dyjw'r o
hw[y]n 'd šyrg'mg'n
- 91 V+517 R+774 R 8a 'wd⁴ wnw'h 'zwrtynd o
pd hrwyn ''jwn⁵
- 91 V+517 R+774 R b 'wd⁴ pd⁶ hrwyn hw'n o
'wd⁷ t'm'dg⁸ zynd'n
- 91 V+517 R+774 R
+ef V 9a 'wd⁴ wnw'h ''jynd⁹ o
pd wysp d'md'd'n
- 91 V+517 R+774 R
+ef V b 'wd⁴ 'xšyd¹⁰ hwyn wcn o
pd bry'n¹¹ swwhyšn¹²
- 91 V+517 R+774 R
+ef V 10a ms 'wr 's'h¹³ o
'wd m' bw'h fryh
- 91 V+517 R+774 R+
dv R+ef V b 'ym hwcyhryft o
cy pd hrw zng wygnyd
- 91 V+517 R+774 R+
dv R 11a 'wd¹⁴ kfyd¹⁵ 'wd¹⁶ wdcyd o
cw'gwn wfr pd 'bd'b¹⁷
- 91 V+517 R+774 R+
dv R b 'wd 'w hrwyn kryšn¹⁸ o
'wyšt'dn ny 'st¹⁹
- 91 V+690 V+774 R 12a 'wd²⁰ wyzmryd²¹ 'wd²² wzwyd²³ o
cw'gwn w'r systg
- 91 V+690 V+774 R b ky pd 'bd'b hwšyd²⁴
u hw brhm wygnyd
- 91 V+439 V+690 V+
774 R 13a ms 's'h²⁵ tw gy'n o
'wd m' bw'h fryh
- 91 V+439 V+690 V+
774 R b jmnyn 'šm'r o
'wd qmbyg rwc'n²⁶

¹ So (doubtfully) in 175 only ² o t[175;](o t)[n](b)'ryn 91. In 91 r in the first line is usually followed by an ornamental dot, which can look like a small y; but in this word the reading -ryn, and not -rn, is almost certain

³ So in 175 only ⁴ 'wt 517 ⁵ So in 91; ''jwn 774 ⁶ pt 517 ⁷ (')[w](t)

⁸ So in 91 and 774 ⁹ So in 91 and 774; 'jynd 517 ¹⁰ So in 91 and 517; 'xšyrd 774 ¹¹ So in 91 and 774 ¹² So in 774 and ef; sw'h[91 ¹³ ''s'h 774 ¹⁴ 'wt 517, 774 ¹⁵ qfyd 91 ¹⁶ u 517, 774 ¹⁷ 'bdb dv ¹⁸ So in 774; qryšn 91 ¹⁹ 'st dv ²⁰ 'wt 774

²¹ So in 91; wyzmyryd 774 ²² u 774 ²³ So in 91; wdzrd 774 (evidently a mistake—H.) ²⁴ So in 91; wxšyd 774 (a mistake) ²⁵ So in 91; ''s' 774 ²⁶ So in 690; rwc''n 91

- 7 Turn not back, nor regard the shapes¹ of the bodies, which lie (there)² in wretchedness, they and (their) fellows.
- 8 See, they return through every rebirth, through every agony and every choking (?) prison.
- 9 See, they are reborn among all (kinds of) creatures, and their voice is heard in burning sighs.
- 10 Come yet nearer, and be not fond of this beauty that perishes in all (its) varieties.
- 11 It falls and melts as snow in sunshine. There is no abiding for any fair form.
- 12 It withers and fades as a broken rose, that wilts in the sun, whose grace is destroyed.³
- 13 Yet come, thou spirit, and be not fond of the sum of hours and the fleeting days.

¹ The precise meaning of *cyhr*, *cyhrg* is often difficult to determine. Here 'nature' might accord better with the following verses, but would be awkward in v. 7 itself. *tnb'ryn cyhrg* probably refers to the forms of the five categories of creatures.

² i.e. on the earth.

³ Henning's translation, see *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1944, p. 113.

- 91 V+439 V+690 V+ 14a 'wd m' 'zwrt'¹ h¹ o
774 R+aw V 'br hrwyn dydn² p
- 91 V+439 V+690 V+ b mrn 'wrjwg o
774 R+aw V ky 'w 'bn's w'yd
- 439 V+aw V 15a 'c 'yd fr'c o
'wr gy'(n) []h³
- 439 V+489a R+aw V+ b 'z w'y'n 'w bwrzw'r [o]
dv V ['w tw bwn 'r'](m)⁴
- 439 V+489a R+dv V 16a 'wd⁵ 'bdys'n pdys[t? o]
b frmnywg cyd pdbw(s)[?d o]⁶ [p]
- 287 R+489a R+aa R 17a kr'⁷ gy'n 'by'd o
'wt wyn'h 'n[jw](g)[yft]⁸
- 287 R+489a R+aa R b cy bwrđ pd dybhr o
cy hrwyn wyg'ng
- 287 R+517 V+774 V+ 18a 'wt wyn'h 'w šhr o
aa R 'wd⁹ zynd'n d'm'g¹⁰ p
- 287 R+517 V+774 V+ b cy hrw 'wrjwg o
aa R 'c tgnbnd wygynynd¹¹
- 287 R+517 V+774 V+ 19a 'wt pry'byd 'sp'w o
aa R 'dwr 'wd¹² 'bn's
- 287 R+517 V+774 V+ b 'w hwyn hrwyn o
aa R ky pd¹³ hw m''nynd¹⁴
- 287 R+517 V+774 V+ 20a 'wd 'bnsyd bwrzw'r o
aa R 'd hrwyn m'nyst'n [p]
- 287 R+517 V+774 V+ b 'wd hrw 'sm'n o
817 R+aa R kfynd ngws'r 'w jfr
- 287 R+517 V+774 V+ 21a 'wd¹⁵ 'strbyd¹⁶ tgnbnd o
817 R+aa R hw d'mg 'bn's
- 287 R+517 V+774 V+ b 'br hwyn dbgr o
817 R+aa R ky 'ndr ghr''yyn¹⁷

¹ So in 91 and 774; 'zwrt' 439² So in 91 and aw; dy(d)[774; d'[ydn] 690³ Up to gy'(n)[is in 439;]h in aw⁴ Up to bwrzw'r[is in 439+489a+dv;

](m) in aw

⁵ 'wt dv⁶ pdbw(s)[in 439 only⁷ So in 489a only⁸ 'n[. .](g)[in aa only⁹ 'wt 287, 517¹⁰ So in 517; d'[aa¹¹ wygn[

aa; w(yg)[774; wygynynd 517

¹² 'wt 517¹³ pt 517¹⁴ So in 774;

m'nyyn(d) 287+aa; m'nynynd (sic; a mistake) 517

¹⁵ ['w]d 774; 'wt 817¹⁶ So in 774; (')[s]trbyd 817¹⁷ So in 774, where the copyist first wrote gr-,

and then corrected the r to an h (H.); ghr' [ynd] 287+ aa;]hr'[517

- 14 Turn not back for every outward show. Desire (is) death, and leads to destruction.
- 15 Hence, spirit, come! . . . I shall lead (thee) to the height, [to thy native abode].
- 16 I shall show (thee) the pledge (?) . . . the hope thou hast yearned for . . .
- 17 Remember, O spirit! look on the anguish (?) that (thou hast) borne through the fury of all (thy) ravagers.
- 18 Regard the world and the prison of creation; for all desires will be swiftly destroyed.
- 19 Terror, fire and ruin will overtake all those who dwell therein.
- 20 The height will be shattered with all (its) dwellings; all the heavens will fall down into the deep.
- 21 The trap of destruction will swiftly close upon those deceivers who brag therein.

287 R+774 V+817 R	22a	'wd hmg šhrd'ryft ¹ o 'd hrw 'st'rg br'zyšn ²	[p]
287 R+774 V+817 R	b	y'dyd hwyn 'bn's o 'wš'n tng 'nrgypt ³	
774 V+817 R	23a	'wd hrw 'xšy(n)[d']n o 'wd wymnd wstmbg'n ⁴	
459a R+774 V+817 R +ay R	b	pd 'dwr wxš[yndg] o 'wd pd dyjw'r y'wyd'n ⁵	
459a R+578 R+774 V +ay R	24a	'wd hrw 'wrjwg ⁶ o 'wd dydn wbr'(z)[]'g ⁷	[p]
459a R+578 R+774 V +ay R	b	wydbdynd ⁸ pd w'[] o	
459a R+578 R	25a	'wd hmg jywhr o cy wysp twxm (u) ⁹ [bwn] ¹⁰	
489a V+578 R	b	'c tgnbnd wygnynd o u y'dynd 'w 'bn's	
489a V+578 R	26a	['wd hm]g 'wrjwg o zrnyn 'd hrw brhm	p
489a V+578 R	b	[.....]'dwr o u 'ndyšt ¹¹ bwynd pd hw	
287 V+489a V+aa V	27a	[....] hrw dstygyrd ¹² o []nd ¹³ cy 'wst'd	
287 V+489a V+aa V	b	(w)yš'd bwynd hrwyn o []br ¹⁴ hwyn 'mbdynd ¹⁵	
287 V+aa V	28a	[....] hrwyn wyg'n o cy []	[p]
287 V+aa V	b	[.....]s'd 'sm'n o u []	

¹]ft 287² br'zšn with two dots under the š in 774 (the only MS.)³ So in 774 (the only MS.)⁴ Up to 'xšy(n)[is in 817; from]n o 'wd is in 774⁵ Up to wxš[is in 459a+817+ay; from] o 'wd is in 774⁶ 'wrjwg 774;

'w(r)[459a (the only MSS.)

⁷ wbr'(z)[in 774 only⁸ wy(d)[578;

wydb[ay;](d)bdynd 774;]dbdynd 459a

⁹ The w is clear, but the MS. is

torn above, so that if dots existed, they have disappeared. Possibly one should rather read w[....]; 578 is the only MS.

¹⁰ H.'s restoration¹¹ In

578 only

¹² So in 287+aa only¹³ The [] is on 287, from]nd on

489a only

¹⁴ hrwyn o [is on 287;]br is on 489a. More than one letter may

be missing

¹⁵ On 489a only

- 22 The whole dominion, with the brilliance of all the stars
—ruin will come upon them, and the pang of their
indignity.¹
- 23 All the Princes and the border-rebels (will suffer) for
ever in wretchedness within the blazing fire.
- 24 Every desire and every shining show will dissolve (?)
through . . .
- 25 The whole of life, from every seed and [stem], will
swiftly be wrecked and brought to perdition.²
- 26 The whole of the lusts, gilded with all (their) charm
. . . fire, will be heaped upon it.³
- 27 . . . each mansion . . . which has been established—
each will be broken open, and will tumble down upon
them.
- 28 . . . every injury of . . . heaven and. . .

¹ Or 'their pangs of indignity'; or 'the indignity of their pangs'?

² Henning's translation (see *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1944, p. 113), except that the restoration (u) [bwn], proposed by him previously, has been adopted here.

³ Henning's translation (loc. cit.).

287 V+aa V	29a	[....] p _t hw rwc o p'(d)[]	
287 V+aa V	b	[...] 'dr zmyg o bwyd h[]	
287 V+aa V	30a	[....] (h)rw dyw'n o hwyn []	
287 V+817 V+aa V	b	[....] (t)nng ¹ 'dwryn o 'wt [] ² (hw) ['n]jywgyft ³	[p]
287 V+817 V+aa V	31a	[pt] jfr'n 'ywšt g o cy hmg w(š)wbyšn ³	
287 V+817 V+aa V	b	[p'dy]fr's ⁴ wyndynd o pd [d]yiw'r y'wyd''n ³	
287 V+817 V	32a	[]dg o 'wd []ynd ⁵ 'w šrg'n	
287 V+817 V	b	[](r) o dy[]''drwdg ⁶	[p]
817 V	33a	. . . . . [y]'wyd'n 'by rwšn	
459a V+817 V+ay V	b	. . . . . [dyiw'] (r)yft jywhr ⁷	
459a V+578 V+ay V	34a	. . . . . [ ]t'(r)y g zng ⁸	
459a V+578 V+ay V	b	. . . . . [ ]dys]m'n rymn ⁹	[p]
459a V+578 V+ay V	35a	[bs](t) ¹⁰ bwynd s(')g'n ¹¹ o cy gryw'n mwrđg ¹²	
578 V	b	pd mrn dhmq o cy hrwyn sy'wyft	

¹ So in aa only ² The length of the gap is uncertain. Possibly no letters are missing between 'wt (287) and (hw) (817) ³ So in 817 only ⁴ H.'s restoration from 287+aa ⁵ 'wd[287;]ynd 817 ⁶ So in 817 only; possibly not a complete word ⁷](r)yft j[...]r 817;]ywh[459a;]hr ay
⁸](r)y g zng[459a;]g 578, ay ⁹]m'n rym[459a;](m)n 578; rymn ay
¹⁰ H.'s restoration from 578 only ¹¹ So in 578 only ¹² gryw[...mwrđg 578;]n[459a

29 . . . upon that day . . . beneath the earth, it will become . . .

30 . . . all the demons, those . . . fiery pangs . . . and . . . that redemption (?)¹.

31 [In] the troubled deeps where all is anarchy they will find (their) reward in endless wretchedness.

32 . . . and they will . . . to the lions . . . (?)

33 . . . for ever without light² . . . a life of wretchedness (?).

34 . . . a dark (?) treasure-house³ . . . a filthy building (?).

35 The parts of the dead souls will be [fettered]⁴ in the tomb of death where all is blackness,

¹ It seems probable that [’n]iyyogyft ‘redemption’ is a mistake for ’njwgyft ‘anguish’.

² Cf. *Keph.*, p. 106 ¹⁴⁻¹⁵.

³ Possibly hell is here conceived as the ‘treasure-house’ of evil deeds, in contradistinction to Paradise, where good acts are stored up; on the latter conception see G. Widengren, *The great Vohu Manah*, pp. 84-86.

⁴ This translation of 35a is Professor Henning’s.

578 V 36a 'wt hmg w'(y) o
cy t'r 'bzwy(š)[n]
578 V b wxd pdmwcynd o
pd tngg cy h[]

(End of the first fragment of the seventh *handām*)

Angad Rōšnān VIIa

667 R+ee R [hf]twm¹ hnd['m]
667 V+ee V 'ngd rwš[n'n]
667 R+ee R 1a 'wd bwynd h(y)štyg² o
wnštq u 'mštq³
667 R+918a R+ee R b cy ny scyd kw snynd o
'w dysm'n b'[n]('n)⁴
620 R+667 R+918a R 2a qfynd pd jfr'n o
+ee R x'z'd (b)[w]ynd⁵ pd mrn
620 R+667 R+918a R b 'wt p[dm]wcynd 'w t'r o
+ee R 'w (tnn)g⁶ u⁷ 'dwr
620 R+918a R+ee R 3a 'wd ms 'xšd'g o
(n)[y] wyndynd y'wyd'n
620 R+918a R b 'wd kyc ny 'st o
[kyš']n nrh br wš'h'
620 R+918a R 4a 'wd bwynd swgb'ryg [o]
(p)[d] hrwyn wnwhg
620 R+918a R b (n)'rynd⁸ 'wd 'bxrwsynd o
'c b(nd) [y]('wyd'n)⁹
620 R+918a R 5a [']wd ny 'st (ky)¹⁰ ng[wš' ? o]
[u '](bxš)'h'¹¹ 'br hwyn
620 R+918a R b wsn'd '[o]
[] wg'nyšn

¹ The dot over the missing *f* is visible in 667
h(w)štyg ³ In ee only ⁴ *dysm*[667;](*d*)*ysm'n b'[n]('n)* ee ⁵ (*b*)[
620+667;]*ynd* ee ⁶ So in 620 (the bottom of the letters only visible);
[*g*] ee ⁷ ['*wd*] 620 ⁸ So in 918a ⁹ [*y*]('wyd'n) with two dots
under the *n* in 620 (the only MS.) ¹⁰ So in 620; (*ky*) very doubtful, since
only the tops of these letters are visible. They may even belong to the same word
as the following *ng*[¹¹ So in 620

36 and (where) all (is) woe of Darkness . . . (?)¹ . . . ; truly they² will be clad in the distress of . . .

(End of the first fragment of the seventh canto)³

Angad Rōšnān VIIa

Seventh canto of *Angad Rōšnān*

- 1 They⁴ will become the bricks (?) (which are) spoilt and smashed, which are not fit to go up to the keepers of the Building.⁵
- 2 They will fall into the deep and be devoured in death. They will clothe themselves in darkness, distress, and fire.
- 3 They will nevermore find one to pity them. None will open for them the gate of hell.
- 4 They will be scared with sorrow amid all the quakings. They will groan and shriek at (their) bondage for ever.
- 5 There is none who will hear (?) and have mercy upon them, for the sake of . . . destruction.

¹ For 'bzw(y)(š)[n] see glossary.

² i.e. 'the parts of the dead souls'.

³ For the identification of the verses in *A.R.* VII see above, p. 27.

⁴ Possibly 'they' are the *s'g'n cy gryw'n mwordg* of *A.R.* VII 35a; in any case, the sinful.

⁵ If his reading *hyštyg* is correct, Henning sees in this passage an interesting allusion to the *Pastor Hermae*; and compares M 97a 17-21 (Müller, *Eine Hermae-Stelle*, p. 2; Salemann, *Man. St.*, p. 34).

620 R+bz R	6a	
	[wdy](ft)gy(f)[t ¹ ']bgws(t) ² bwyd	
620 R+bz R	b [.](s) o	P
	pdgyrwynd p('dyš)nw(h)r	
bz R	7a	
	[.] hwyn pd jfr	
bz R	b	
	[.](')gr[. . .]	
(Three verses missing)		
667 V+ee V	11a ['wd] bw' š'dzyrd o	
	pd 'ym rwž 'zg'm	
667 V+918a V+ee V	b [cy] 'bsyst ³ ywbhr o	
	u hrwyn tw 'wdjn ⁴	
667 V+918a V+ee V	12a 'wd byh (')[wz]yh'h ⁵ o	
	'c 'ym dbgryy ⁶	
620 V+667 V+918a V +ee V	b cy kyrd '(y)y tnd ⁷ pd tngg o	P
	pd mrn (dy)jw'ryft ⁸	
620 V+918a V	13a 'wt ₁ nhxt 'yy '[w] ⁹ jfr o	
	cy hrwyn 'šwb	
620 V+918a V	b 'wt ₁ kyrd 'yy [wrd]g ¹⁰ o	
	pd hrwyn wy'g'n	
620 V+918a V	14a 'wt ₁ 'gwst ('yy) o	
	pd hrwyn ''jwn	
620 V+918a V	b u ¹¹ bwd ('y)y wygndg o	P
	pd hrwyn šhryst ₁ 'n ¹²	
620 V+918a V	15a frhyd kyrd (t)[. . . o]	
	[. . .](dys)'d 'skrfy[šn] ¹³	
620 V+918a V	b 'wt ₁ wyg[. . . o]	
	[. . .] u dysm'n	

¹ H.'s restoration from bz; the first (ft) is very doubtful
the letters are very cramped, and the reading of the t is doubtful

² So in 620;

[']bsyst 667

⁴ In 667+918a

⁵ H.'s restoration; byh '[ee;]yh'h 667

⁶ sic (clearly) in 918a only

⁷ In 620 only

⁸ Written dyjw'ryft with

two dots instead of one over the f in 918a (the only MS.)

⁹ So in 620;

there is hardly room to restore 'c]

¹⁰ H.'s restoration

¹¹ u written

after two small punctuation points at the end of 14a in 918a

¹² So in

918a

¹³ '[620;]skrfy[918a

6 . . . deception (?) will be laid bare . . . they will receive
(their) reward.

7 . . . those in the abyss . . .

(Three verses missing)

11 Be glad of heart on this day of departing, [for] sickness
is ended, and all thy rigours.

12 And thou shalt go forth out of this deceiver,¹ which
has made thee faint through distress and the agony of
death.

13 Thou wast held back within the abyss, where all is
turmoil; thou wast made captive (?) in every place.

14 Thou wast suspended amid all rebirths. Thou hast
suffered ravage amid all cities.

15 Many were made . . . stumbling, and destruction (?)
[to the] . . . and structure.

¹ i.e. the body (cf. *A.R.* I 3b; VIII 14a).

620 V+ bz V	16a	'wt̄ bw[d 'lyy wm[. .](g)[o]	
		
620 V+ bz V	b	cy b(w)t ¹ 'yy pd dyjw[r o]	P
		
bz V	17a	'c 'y(d fr)['c o]	
		
bz V	b	[. .]h[o]	
		

(End of this fragment of the seventh *handām*)

Angad Rōšnān VIII

89 R		hšt̄wm hnd'm	
89 V		'ngd rwšn'n	
89 R	1a	'wd pdyzb(')d 'c (m)n o	
		hw cmg (s)[. .](n)yn ²	
89 R	b	(ky) ³ pd wysp zmbg o	
		'w 'skrfyš(n) nhxt hym	
89 R	2a	'wd bwxt mn gryw o	
		'c hrwyn ('st[']r ⁴	
89 R	b	(ky) ³ wysp rwc'n o	P
		'w 'njwgyft (c)[yd] (n)[ydrynj']d ⁵	
89 R	3a	'wd 'zgrysp'd 'c mn o	
		hw t'ryg t(ft) ⁶ [t]n(g)	
89 R+cx R	b	ky 'c hs pd nwx o	
		wrd kyrd (hym) ⁷ (pd) [. . . .](nd)	
89 R+cx R	4a	'wd pdm[w]xt hym pdmwcn o	
		cy rw[šn]	
89 R+cx R	b	'wd fr'mwxt 'c mn o	P
		wysp gw(n)[g]	

¹ So in 620+ bz; the middle letter is very doubtful, and may even be a very cramped *s* ² *s* very doubtful; almost certainly not (s)[*hm*]yn, since the upper line of the *m* should then show ³ Or (*kw*) ⁴ H.'s reading
⁵ H.'s restoration; the (*n*) is doubtful; possibly the first part of a *b*, or *m* ⁶ (*ft*)
doubtful; possibly (*s*) ⁷ The *h* almost certain; *ym* very doubtful

16 Thou wast . . . for thou wast (?) in affliction . . .

17 Hence! [spirit, come!] . . .

(End of this fragment of the seventh canto)¹

Angad Rōšnān VIII

Eighth canto of *Angad Rōšnān*

1 The . . . current is deflected (?) from me, which dragged me down in stumblings during many a fray.

2 My soul is saved from all the sins which day by day [oppressed] (me) [ever] in anguish.

3 The dark, hot (?) distress is taken from me which at the outset, in the beginning, made me captive in . . .

4 I am clothed with a garment of Light . . . Every kind of . . . is taken off from me.

¹ For the identification of the verses in *A.R.* VIIa see above, p. 27.

5 I am passed beyond the pain and anguish of their bodies.¹ Every . . . (?) has become remote from [me].

6 I am arrayed and succoured by the Saviour of my spirit, through the . . . power, which never was constricted.

7 . . . beyond (?) the continent (?) . . . when . . . hidden (?) . . .

(Three verses missing)

11 Those who are of the same shape² as the demons will pass again through all the prisons and the cycle of death.

12 I saw that it³ became dark, and there is no light therein; hideous in appearance and overpowering in form.

13 The Saviour said to me: Spirit! behold the husk⁴ (thou hast) abandoned in the deep in terror [and] destruction.

14 Truly for thee it was a deceptive partner, a distressful prison in every hell.

¹ Cf. *A.R.* I 3b.

² *h'mcyhrg* has latterly been translated by Henning as 'homomorphic' (see *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1944, p. 112 n. 1). Puech, while accepting this, has pointed out that the general gnostic tradition tempts one rather to translate 'consubstantial' (see *Le Manichéisme*, 1949, p. 155 n. 275). The present passage strongly supports the rendering 'homomorphic', however; the reference is presumably to sinners who have sunk below the level of man, and are reincarnated among the creatures whose forms pre-existed in hell. [cf. now Henning, *Asia Major*, III ii, p. 194 n. 54.]

³ i.e. the abandoned body.

⁴ Cf. *M* 4 b 22.

15 Truly for thee it was an unruly death, which
[severed] thy soul from life for ever.

16 Truly for thee it was a path of stumbling [which] was
wholly deeds of dread, and much sickness.

17 . . . the hell of every . . . anguish . . .

(End of this fragment of the eighth canto)¹

¹ For the identification of the verses in *A.R.* VIII see above, p. 27.

FRAGMENTS

A (= 859)¹

R(?)	1a	]o 'njw[gyft 'wd] dyjw['r]
	b	]o 'ngwn 'ndr ny 'st
	2a	]o 'wd zmbwdyg dyjw['r]
	b	]o 'wd hw tnng []
	3a	](g ')[
V(?)	11b	(ky) [...]yw [.](gd)[....](z)'r o[
	12a	[....]yd (')[w] wy('g) wy('g)[o
	b	[](.)tg o[

B (= ca)¹

R(?)	1a	]o 'wd gy[']n[
	b	]d 'c hrw o[
	2a	jy]whr o[
V(?)	11a	](..)[o](....)yd kw (')g[
	b	']wd zrhyg (m)['sy'g'n]
	12a	](.)'d[
	b	]h[

C (= bk)¹

R(?)	1a	]m' ² fr'mwxt o[
	b	](xt) ³ 'c[
V(?)	11a	]s (o 'w)yš(t)[

¹ This fragment is from the MS. represented by M 603, M 780, and other fragments, which contained both hymn-cycles ² *sic* ³ Only the tops of the letters are visible

D (= 449b)

R(?)	1a	] cy hrwyn d'm[d'd'n]	
	b	o 'w]d 'yw 'w 'yw wyg'nynd	
	2a	mr]dwhm'n tnb''r	
	b	] (y)'dynd 'w 'bn's	
V(?)	11a	[...] wxšyd hw (')[dwr	
	b	pd gy'n'n 'byj(')[
	12a	hw (')st wy'g b[
	b	'wd š(h)r t'ryg[

E (= az)¹

R	1b	wyš[	V	11b	] 'w hwyn
	2a	's[		12a	] 'n
	b	'w[		b	] 'n

F (= ba)

R	1b	'wd pd [	V	11b	] m'nynd('n)
	2a	r(s)[		12a	](gy)r'n ²
	b	'(.)[		b	](.)t

G (= bb)

R	1b	'wd [	V	11b	] (')bn's
	2a	cy h[		12a	]nynd
	b	wx(s)[		b	]šn

¹ Fragments E-K are from the MS. represented by T I a 1530-40, which contained verses from both hymn-cycles

² The top-stroke only of (g?) is visible

J (= bc)

R	1b 'wd (h)[	V	11b	] cy 'zg'm
	2a 'wd (.)[		12a	] 'ydw'ynd
	b cy [		b	](nd)

K (= bd)

R	1b wyš(')[	V	11b	] (')bn's
	2a 'wd w[		12a	'w]jy'n
	b 'w[		b	] tng

L (= 698)

R(?)	1a 'wd qr[
	b kw byd rws[n			
V(?)	11a	]yn phrg 'stftyft		
	b	h](r)w zwnws 'bn's		

M (= bs)

R(?)	1a] (')w(d) hrwyn (w)[	V (?)	11a] ('y)myn hrwy[n
	b] (')wd hwynd 'nd ¹		b] ('z)wrdyšn
			wymn[d
	2a] qwf'n ph[		12a]wyn wymnd[
	b] bnd 'wd d(yj)[w'r		b](t)'b 'wd zmbg[
	3a] (h)wyn jfr'[n		13a] (h)rwyn zynd'[n
	b] (')wd 'st[		b] 'bš'(m)[g

¹ Or possibly *hwynd'nd* (a single word); the letters are clear

N (= cp)

R(?)	1a	](w)[	]d w(.)[	V (?)	11a	] m(n)[
	b	] m(n)[	]c (h)[		b	](t) hym[]h(w)[
	2a	] 'strb'd o d'mg [			12a	] (r)nj bwd o 'c hrw[
	b	]d 'hynd o hrw w'[			b	]ft 'c mn o hw gr(.)[
	3a	](w) o 'w hrwyn '[			13a	] 'c mn o hw (c)[¹
	b	](n) o k(y pd) ['n]j(w) [gyft			b	](.)[. .](rg) ² [o] m(n) ³ [

O (= 503a, c)

R(?)	1a	](.w)d o 'wd ('d)w(r) [
	b	](.)m'dn o 'wd w'st '[w
	2a	] (b)zkr o ('nd)rxtg'[n](m)[
	b	]g'n o kw r[w](š)n (ny) ⁴ n[
	3a	](sp.)[. .](.)[](n)yrd (h)[
	b	](.)[ ](')wd t'(r) (.)[
	4a	](t)[
V(?)	11a	](')zwrđyšn [
	b	'yw by](d)'n 'sp'wynd o 'w[d
	12a	](')w[. .] (q)yrdg'n o 'wd mr(d)[whm
	b	]wm (kw 's(pw)hynd ⁴ o 'wd [
	13a	] dysm['n]'r[']m kw [
	b	]d y'dyd o wy(g)[nyd]b(')[

¹ The right-hand side of the letter only is visible ² The top of *g* (or just possibly *t*) only is visible, with a dot showing above the letter which preceded it

³ The *m* is certain, a final *n* almost so. These two letters prevent an identification of *N*13 with *A.R.* VIII 1

⁴ Reading suggested by H.; 2b and 12b are both affected by a small tear in the paper

P (= cd)¹

R(?) 1a]'d 'br (h)wyn o kw (w)ysp pd (hw)y(n š)'d²
 b](n)d (pd hrw) b[nd o] (u) gryspynd pd dyjw'r

2a] 'skrffyšn³ 'wt
 b]yn o u 'w nr(h) y'dynd

V(?) 11a 'wt bwyd prmwšyšn o 'br [
 b 'wt t'r pry'by[d o] 'w hrw[

12a 'wd w'd hw'rm(y)[n
 b (')gws(t b)wyd '(ndr)[

Q (= cr)⁴

R 1a]yn wymnd
 b](...) p

¹ A fragment from the bottom of a page. The order of the pages is probably that given here ² Reading suggested by H. ³ Written 'sxrpyyšn

⁴ The verso of this fragment may contain the opening words of *Angad Rōšnān*; see above, p. 29. The letters on its recto page are found also on *M* 12a, but possibly not at the end of the line. They are in any case common (cf. *H.* Vb 1a), and no identification would be possible without more evidence

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE MANUSCRIPTS

A LIST is here appended of the fifteen handām manuscripts which are represented by more than one fragment. Those given in group I are known to have contained both hymn-cycles. A (*p*) after a signature indicates a manuscript in which the letter *p* appears in the outer margins; an asterisk marks one for which the outer margins are lacking in all extant fragments; and an unadorned signature shows a manuscript in which the device of the *p* was definitely not used.

I

A: 603, 780, 831, 859, T I D (3 p.)b [1890], c [1891], a [1892], T I D 51 [2600], T II D 140 [5930]—B: the eleven fragments with the signature T II D 178—C (*p*): 93, 175, 289a, 489a, 675, 689, 774, 858e, T II D 167 (10 p.)a [6130], b [6131], j [6139], T III D 280 [8285]—D*: T I D (9 p.)g [2206], T I D (10 p.)j [2339], T I D 27 (10 p.)e [2306]—E*: 287, 855, T I a [1223]—F*: T I a (15 p.) [1530–1544]; T I D (12 p.)i [2458].

[Note: In addition, the single fragment M 256 contains verses from both hymn-cycles.]

II

G (*p*): 620, 667, 918a, T I D 51 [2604]—J: 895a, T I D 11 (7 p.)a [2078], T I D 16 (9 p.)c [2220] and g [2224], T I D 51 (9 p.)b [3121]—K*: 517, 863, T II D 77² (5 p.)c [5540], T II D 79 (1 p.) [5570]—L (*p*): 88 I, 91—M (*p*): 96, 578—N*: 459a, 817—O*: 439, 690—P*: 889, T I D 8 (11 p.)b [2412]—Q*: 449b, 503a,c.

This list contains eighty fragments. Altogether, one hundred and fourteen fragments are reproduced in this edition of the texts, over forty manuscripts being represented.

GLOSSARY

[NOTE: Parthian words from the hymn-cycles only are given in the glossary. They are cited with the title of the hymn-cycle (abbreviated to *H.* or *A.R.*) and the number of the canto (in Roman numerals) to which they belong; or with the signature of a fragment in italic capital letters. Variations in spelling are given only in exceptional cases, and very doubtful readings have usually been omitted. The following abbreviations are used: *rest.* for restored; *H.* for Henning; *List* for Henning, 'A List of Middle-Persian and Parthian words', *BSOS.* ix, pp. 79-92.]

"*drwdg* ? (perhaps incomplete)
A.R. VII 32b.

"*dwryn* see '*dwryn*'.

"*gs* see '*gs*'.

"*jwn* see '*jwn*'.

"*jy-* see '*jy-*'.

"*r'm* see '*r'm*'.

"*rg* 'side' *A.R.* I 14a, 21a, 25b.

"*s-* see '*s-*'.

"*šwb* see '*šwb*'.

"*šyft* see '*šyft*'.

"*wōdyn* 'such, so much' *H.* VI title
(see above, p. 94 n. 1).

"*wrjwg* see '*wrjwg*'.

"*wyndq* 'equal' (*H.*, as = *h'w(y)nd*
rather than '*wynd*'), see *ywd*
"*wyndq*.

"*ywštq* see '*ywštq*'.

"*ywz* see '*ywz*'.

"*z'd* see '*z'd*'.

'*b* 'water' *H.* Va 12a; *A.R.* I 25b.

'*bd'b* 'sunshine' *A.R.* VII 11a, 12b.

'*bd'c-* pr. st. 'set free' *H.* IVa 5a
(*rest.*); *A.R.* VI 43b; imp. sg. with
suff. sg. 1 '*bd'cwmm* *A.R.* I 4b;
opt. '*bd'cyndyy* *A.R.* IIIb 12a.

'*bdn* see '*pdn*'.

'*bdys-* pr. st. 'show' *H.* VIII 2a;
A.R. VII 16a.

'*bg'm* 'torment' (see *List*) *H.* VIII
11b.

'*bgwst* pt. 'uncover' *H.* VII 10a;
A.R. VIIa 6a (*rest.*); pr. st.

'*bgwnd-* *H.* VIc 21a; *A.R.* VI 61b.

'*bgws[tg]* 'revealed' *H.* I 53a.

'*bj'm-* pr. st. 'torture' (see *List*)
A.R. I 3b.

[']*bj'mg* 'torturing' *A.R.* I 48b.

'*bn's* 'ruin, perdition' *H.* IVa 8b;
IVb 1b, 2b; V 1a; *A.R.* I 30a;
VI 43a; VII 4a, 14b, 19a, 21a,
22b, 25b; VIII 13b; *D* 2b;
G 11b; *K* 11b; *L* 11b.

'*bnft* pt. 'flee away' *A.R.* VI 5a;
VII 1b.

'*bns-* pr. st. 'be destroyed' *A.R.* VII
20a.

'*br¹* prep. 'upon, over' (of place) *H.*
I 48a, 49b; IVb 1a; VIc 10a, &c.;
'for, on account of' *H.* IVa 6a;
VIc 14a; *A.R.* VII 3b, 14a;
VIIa 5a, &c.

'*br²* adj. 'higher, upper' (*H.*, from
Av. *upara-*) *A.R.* VI 61b; as adv.
'upwards, above' (with '*c*') *H.*
VIc 1b; VIII 2b.

'*br'stg* 'lifted up' *A.R.* I 24a.

'*bryn* 'upper' *A.R.* VI 54b.

'*bsyst* pt. 'be finished, end' *A.R.*
Ia 8a (*rest.*); VII 2a; VIIa 11b.

'*bš'mg* 'swallowing' (Av. *šam-*; cf.
Pers. *āšāmīdan*) *M* 13b (*rest.*); pl.
H. IVa 10a.

'*bxrws-* pr. st. 'cry out, shriek'
H. Va 1a, 2a (*rest.*); *A.R.* I 11b,
29b; VIIa 4b.

'*bxš'h-* pr. st. 'have mercy (on)'
A.R. VIIa 5a (*rest.*).

'*bxwn* 'call, cry' (see *List*) *A.R.* I
23b.

- 'by 'without' *H.* IVa 3b; V 9a; VIc 3b; *A.R.* IIIc 3a; VI 66b; VII 6a, 33a.
- 'by'b 'waterless' *H.* V 5a.
- 'by'd 'memory'; 'by'd *kr-* 'remember' *A.R.* VII 17a.
- 'bzw(y)(š)[n] ? [found recently in parallelism with *nfryn-*, hence = 'malediction', comparable with *Av.* *zava-* (+ *abi/apa*), *Arm.* *nzov-*. *H.*] *A.R.* VII 36a.
- 'c, 'ž prep. 'from' (of place or thing) *H.* IVa 1a, 3a, 5a, 5b, 6a &c.; 'br 'c 'high over . . . ' *H.* VIc 1b; VIII 12b; 'at, on, in' (of place) *A.R.* I 14a, 21a, 22a, 25b; Ia 4b; 'c 'ndr 'within' *H.* Va 11a; *A.R.* I 11a, 28b; 'at, in' (of time) *A.R.* VI 55a ('*ž nwx* 'in the beginning'); VIII 3b ('*c hs*, the same); VII 5b ('*c hs 'wd 'c nwx*); 'at, by means of' (agent or instrument) *H.* VIc 14b, 20a; *A.R.* I 16a; VIIa 4b; 'by, in' (manner) *A.R.* Ia 4b ('*c hrwyn brhm* 'in every way'); VII 18b and 25b ('*c tgnbnd* 'swiftly')—'*c kw* 'whereby' *A.R.* VI 49b.
- 'd prep. 'with' *H.* VIc 15a; VIII 1a; *A.R.* I 29a; VI 2b, 7a, 71a (*rest.*), 73b; VII 7b, 20a, 22a, 26a.
- 'dr prep. 'below, under' *A.R.* VII 29b.
- 'dryy adv. 'below, beneath' *A.R.* Ia 3a.
- 'dwr 'fire' *H.* VIb 21b; *A.R.* I 14b; II 1a; IIIb 12b; VI 38b; VII 19a, 23b, 26b (*rest.*); VIIa 2b; O 1a.
- 'dwryn, "dwryn 'fiery' *A.R.* I 19a; VII 2b, 30b.
- 'dy'wr 'helper, friend' *H.* V 2b; pl. *H.* V 11a (*rest.*); VIc 12a.
- 'dyh- pr. st. 'enter' *H.* I 7a; VIIIa 2a.
- 'dyhynd 'one who enters' pl. *H.* V 4b; Va 12b.
- 'frydg 'blessed' *A.R.* VI 67b.
- 'g 'if' *H.* IVa 6a.
- 'g'm adv. 'willingly' (*H.*; see above, p. 87 n. 1) *H.* V 1a.
- 'gd pt. 'come' *H.* VII 11a; *A.R.* VI 64a.
- 'gs, "gs 'apparent, visible' *A.R.* I 16b; VI 56b, 61a, 62a.
- 'gwt pt. 'hang up' *A.R.* VIIa 14a; P 12b.
- 'g(w)št pt. 'hide' (*ā+gauz-*) *A.R.* VIII 7a (but reading doubtful).
- 'h- pr. st. 'be'
- pret. (?) 'h'z *H.* I 23b (in usage apparently parallel with 'st); *A.R.* I 30a; as auxil. verb, with ppp., *A.R.* VII 1b.
- pres. sg. 3 'st *H.* I 23a, 32b, 33b, 34a, 49a, 62a, 63a; III 3b, 4b; IVa 2b, 5b; IVb 2b, &c.
- pres. sg. 2 'yy *H.* VIa 1b; *A.R.* VI 9a, 50b, 51a, 63a; as auxil. verb *H.* VIa 8b; *A.R.* VI 45a, 55a, 55b, &c.
- pres. sg. 1 'hym, hym *H.* VIa 2b; *A.R.* I 20a; VI 8b, 10a, &c.; as auxil. verb *A.R.* I 15b, 18b (twice); Ib 13a; VIII 1b, 4a, 5a, 6a.
- pres. pl. 3 'hynd *H.* I 51a; IVa 1b; as auxil. verb *A.R.* I 15a, 27b (variant), 28a; Ia 13b, 14a, &c.
- 'hr's'd pt. 'frighten' *H.* VIa 3b (*rest.*), 8b; *A.R.* VI 9b.
- [']hr'sg 'one who frightens' *H.* VII 19a.
- 'hrmyn 'Ahrmen; the devil' *H.* Va 1b.
- 'hrywrr 'pool of destruction' (see Bailey, *BSOS.* vii, pp. 295-6; and *Mir. Man.* iii, glossary s.v.) *H.* VIa 7b.
- 'hxt pt. 'draw out' *A.R.* Ia 14b.
- 'jwn, "jwn 'rebirth' *H.* IVa 5a, 9a; *A.R.* III 50a; VII 8a; VIIa 14a.
- 'jy-, "jy- pr. st. 'be reborn' *A.R.* VII 9a.
- 'm'h, 'm' 'we, us' *H.* I 1b.

- 'm'nwd 'sharing in support' (H., tentatively, as from *ham-* and Sogd. 'nwt- 'support', OPers. *anušiya-* 'supporter') A.R. IIIb 2b.
- 'mb'hg 'drooping' (H., who connects tentatively with 'mbst, cf. MPers. *hmb'h-*, see *List*) H. I 23a.
- 'mbd- pr. st. 'fall down' H. V 19b; A.R. VII 27b.
- 'mrzg ? (H. hesitatingly 'breaking', if from 'mšt-) H. VIb 2b.
- 'mštg 'broken, smashed' A.R. VIIa 1a.
- 'mzwjd 'pity' H. IVb 2b.
- 'mzwšt pt. 'collect, heap up' A.R. I 13b, 19a, 22a, 27b.
- 'my'st pt. 'wreathe, entwine' (H., who compares *pwsg* ... 'my'st [H. I 22b] with *pwš* ... 'my'st' in Sogdian transliteration in T I D⁶, representing *pwsg* ... 'my'stg, and derives from *ham+yāh-*, cf. Pers. *hamyān* and see 'zy'h- below) H. I 22b; IV 1a (rest.).
- 'n's'g 'numberless' H. I 22b.
- 'nd'g 'sorrow' H. I 2b (rest.); VIc 3b; A.R. II 11b.
- 'nd's'd pt. 'abandon' A.R. VI 50a.
- 'ndm- pr. st. 'sigh' H. III 11b.
- 'ndr prep. 'in' H. V 2b; adv. 'within' H. I 32b, 64a; V 3a, 4a, 5b, 20a (rest.); Va 12a; Vb 11a; VIb 21a; A.R. I 24b, 25b; Ib 13a (rest.); VII 21b; VIII 12a; A 1b; 'c'ndr 'within' H. Va 11a; A.R. I 11a, 28b.
- 'ndrw'zyq 'of the air' H. IVa 7a.
- 'ndrxs'd pt. 'be compressed, constricted' (H., as the passive-intransitive of 'ndrynj-/ndrxt, from *ham+trnk-*, cf. Sogdian 'ntr'ys- BBB., 60, 'ntryt'y P 22, 16; for the normal meaning 'condemn: vanquish' cf. the opposite *brwxtn* 'loosen: acquit: gain victory') A.R. VIII 6b.
- 'ndrxtg 'condemned, vanquished' pl. O 2a.
- 'ndyš'd pt. 'think, plan' A.R. Ib 3a (rest.).
- 'ndyšt pt. 'heap together' (H., as from *ham+daiz-*) A.R. VII 26b.
- 'ndyšyšn 'thought, reflection; ἐνθούμησις' H. I 58b; A.R. Ib 2a (rest.).
- 'ng'wg 'ending; cessation' A.R. IIIc 1b (rest.).
- 'ngd 'rich' H. V 11b; A.R. (title) *passim*; A.R. I 1a.
- 'ngwn 'rest, cessation' H. IVa 2b, 5b; Va 1b; VIb 3a; VIc 2a (rest.); VIIIa 3a; A.R. VI 73a; A 1b.
- 'ngwšt 'finger, toe' A.R. Ia 11a, 12a.
- 'njwgyft 'anguish' H. I 28a; V 2a, 13a; VIc 14b; VII 11b, 20b; VIIIa 3b; A.R. I 14a (variant, 'njgyft), 18b; VI 4b, 34a (rest.); VII 4a; VIII 2b, 17b; A 1a (rest.).
- 'nywgyft 'revivification, redemption' A.R. Ia 1a; VII 30b (rest.).
- 'nmbr- pr. st. 'gather together' ? H. IVa 1b.
- 'nrgyft 'indignity' (H., who explains as *an-+arga-* 'value', Skt. *argha-*, Sogd., Oss. *ary*, &c., and compares Arm. *anarg* 'worthless, vile, abject, despicable', which Hübschmann regarded as a native Armenian word) A.R. IIIa 12a (rest.); VII 22b.
- (')[n]w(ry)d 'endless, boundless' (H., on the basis of M59 i 23 *frmyn'y pd'nwryd w'ryšn*) A.R. VI 7a.
- 'pdn, var. 'bdn 'palace' (see H., *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1944, p. 110 n. 1) H. VIc 11a.
- 'r'm, 'r'm 'dwelling-place, place' H. I 6a (rest.); VIII 2b; A.R. VI 65b; VII 4b, 6b; O 13a (rest.).
- 'rg'w 'noble' H. I 51a; Vb 11a (rest.); VIc 10b; A.R. IIIc 3b; VI 68a.

- 's-, 's- pr. st. 'come' *A.R.* II 2b; VII 1a, 3a, 6a, 10a, 13a.
- 'sk'dr comp. adv. 'in a higher degree, more' (see *List*) *H.* I 32a.
- 'skyy adv. 'above' *A.R.* Ia 3b (*rest.*).
- 'sm'n 'heaven' *A.R.* VI 57b, 66a; VII 20b, 28b; pl. *A.R.* Ia 3b; IIIc 2b.
- 'st'r 'sin' *A.R.* VIII 2a.
- 'st'rg 'star, planet' *A.R.* Ia 2b; VII 22a.
- '[sw]nyn 'of iron' *A.R.* I 26b (*rest.*).
- 'šwb, 'šwb 'turmoil, anarchy' *A.R.* I 21b, 27b; VIIa 13a.
- 'šwbgr 'turbulent, unruly' *A.R.* VIII 15a.
- 'šyft, '(c)šyft pt. 'trouble, disturb' (see Ghilain, p. 95; and cf. *pšyft*) *A.R.* I 13a.
- '[šyxt pt. 'sprinkle, pour' *A.R.* III 30a (*rest.*).
- 'w prep. 'to' (of place) *H.* V 19b; VIc 2a; *A.R.* I 24b; VI 3a, &c.; 'to, for' (dative particle) *H.* I 62a; V 9b; VII 2a, 10a, &c.; before the direct object, *H.* V 1a; VIa 3a; VIII 12a; *A.R.* I 19b; VI 31a, 32a, 62b, 63b, &c.
- 'w's 'now' *H.* VIa 2a.
- 'wd, 'wł 'and' *passim*; shortened, *u*; with suff. sg. 1 'wm *H.* IVa 10a; V 6b; *A.R.* I 2a, 11a; Ia 11a, &c.; with suff. sg. 3 'wš *A.R.* VII 2b; with suff. pl. 3 'wš'n *H.* I 7b, 50a (*rest.*); VIc 13b, 15a; *A.R.* VI 5a, 55b; VII 22b.
- 'wd'y'dn inf. 'to save' *A.R.* Ib 1b (*rest.*).
- 'wdjn 'rigour, harshness' (*H.*, who compares Arm. *dažan*, Pers. *dižan*) *H.* V 1b; *A.R.* VIIa 11b.
- 'wjd pt. 'slay' *A.R.* VI 62b; pr. st. 'wjn- *A.R.* VI 31a.
- '[w]jy'n 'slaughter' (see *List*) *K* 12a.
- 'wr adv. 'hither' *A.R.* VII 6a, 10a, 15a; as imp. 'come!' *A.R.* VI 8a.
- 'wrjwg, 'wrjwg 'lust' *H.* IVa 1b; V 10a; *A.R.* VII 3b, 14b, 18b, 24a, 26a.
- 'wst'd pt. 'place, set up' *A.R.* VII 27a; pr. st. 'wst- *H.* VIc 4b.
- 'wsxt pt. 'descend' *A.R.* VI 2b, 55a (*rest.*; variant *wsxt*).
- '[wš 'φρόνησις' *A.R.* Ib 3a (*rest.*).
- 'wwd 'there' *H.* I 7a; VIc 22b.
- 'wyšt'dn inf. 'to exist; existing, abiding' *A.R.* VII 11b; pr. st. 'wyšt- *H.* I 7a (*rest.*); VIII 3a; VIIIa 3a; C 11a.
- 'wzdys 'idol' pl. *H.* V 12a.
- 'xš'dyft 'wretchedness' *H.* VIa 4b; *A.R.* VI 72b.
- 'xšd 'mercy' *H.* III 12a; IVa 3b; V 9a; VII 11a; *A.R.* I 1a; IIa 21b; IIIb 1b.
- 'xšd'g 'merciful, one showing mercy' *A.R.* VIIa 3a.
- 'xšd'gyft 'mercy' *H.* I 1b; VIb 22b.
- 'xšyd pt. 'hear' *A.R.* VII 9b.
- 'xšynd 'prince' pl. *H.* VIb 14a; VIc 1b; VII 18a; *A.R.* I 18a; VII 23a.
- 'xšyndyft 'rule, tyranny' *A.R.* VI 56b.
- 'xtr 'star' pl. *A.R.* Ia 2a.
- 'xtrwzn 'zodiac' *A.R.* Ia 8b.
- 'yd, 'yd 'here'; in phrase 'c 'yd fr'c 'hence' *A.R.* VII 15a; VIIa 17a (*rest.*).
- 'ywšt pt. 'be agitated' *A.R.* Ia 2a.
- 'ywšt'g, 'ywšt'g 'troubled, disturbed' *H.* IVa 2a; *A.R.* I 12b; VII 2a, 31a.
- 'ywx, 'ywx 'disturbed, violent' *A.R.* I 21b, 22a; 'disturbance' *H.* VIa 4a.
- 'z cas. rect. of pers. pron. sg. 1 'I' (cf. obl. *mn*) *H.* VIa 1a, 2b, 3a; VIc 1a; VIII 2a; *A.R.* VI 8b, 10a, 43a &c.; with suff. 'zyc *A.R.* II 3a; with suff. pl. 3 'zyš'n *A.R.* VI 39b.
- 'z'd, 'z'd 'free' *H.* VIb 12b; *A.R.* VI 45b.

'z' dyft 'freedom' *H.* VIIa 1b.

'zyh- pr. st. 'go out' *H.* VII 9a.

'z see 'c.

'skrŷyšn 'stumbling' (see *List*) *A.R.* VIIa 15a (*rest.*); VIII 1b, 16a; *P* 2a.

'sp'w 'terror' *H.* I 34a; IVa 6b; *A.R.* I 30a; VII 2b, 19a; VIII 13b.

'sp'w- pr. st. 'terrify' *O* 11b.

[']sprhmg 'flower' *H.* III 4a.

'spwh- pr. st. 'be terrified' (see *H.*, *BSOAS.* xii, p. 50, text l. 13 and p. 52, note) *O* 12b.

'spwr 'complete, entire' *A.R.* VI 10b, 21b, 44b, 48b.

'spyxt 'radiant' *H.* VIc 4a; *A.R.* VI 10a.

'st'n- pr. st. 'take' *H.* VIc 1a; *A.R.* VI 67a.

'st'w⁻¹ pr. st. 'praise' *H.* I 61a.

'st'w⁻² pr. st. ? (either a mistake for 'sp'w-, q.v.; or 'overcome', see *List* under 'stwyqwn-) *H.* IVa 3b.

'st'w^{-dg} 'praised' *H.* I 48b (*rest.*); *A.R.* I 4a (*rest.*); VI 69b.

'st'wyšn 'praise' *H.* VIc 3a, 13b; VIII 1b.

'stft 'hard' *H.* V 5a.

'stftyft 'hardness, harshness' *L* 11a.

'strb'd pt. 'snap, close (as a trap)' (*H.*, who restores the old pt. [']strwf[t] in *M* 99/8, 16b, and derives from *us-*+*trp-* 'steal', cf. *Pahl. truft*) *N* 2a; pr. st. 'strb- *A.R.* VII 21a.

'stwn 'mast' pl. *A.R.* I 27b.

'škyb'd pt. 'be patient' *H.* VIII 12a.

'šm'r 'number' *A.R.* Ia 8a; VII 13b.

'št- pr. st. 'stand, exist, be' *H.* I 59a, 61b; III 3a; VIa 7b; VIb 3b; *A.R.* III 10b (*rest.*).

'yd see 'yd.

'ydw'y- pr. st. 'lead in' *H.* VIc 2a; *A.R.* V 54a (*rest.*); VI 68b; *ŷ* 12a.

'ym 'this' adj. sg. *H.* VII 10b; *A.R.* IIIc 2a, 13a; VII 10b; VIIa 11a, 12a; adj. pl. 'ymyn *H.* VIb 12a; *M* 11a; subst. pl. 'ymyn *H.* IVa 8a; IVb 1a, 3a; VII 10a; *A.R.* VI 1a.

'yww 'one' *H.* IVa 3b, 6b; *D* 1b (twice); with suff. 'ywwyc . . . [ny] 'not even one' *H.* I 52a.

'zg'm 'going out; departure, death' *H.* V 20a; VII 11a; VIII 13a; *A.R.* VIIa 11a; *ŷ* 11b.

'zgd pt. 'go out' *A.R.* VI 62a.

'zgryftg 'taken away' *H.* IVa 9b (*rest.*).

'zgrysp'd pt. 'be taken away' *A.R.* Ia 12b; VI 60b; VIII 3a.

'zgyrw- pr. st. 'take away' *H.* I 2b.

'zwy-y- pr. st. 'lead out' *H.* IVa 4a, 5a; *A.R.* VI 33a, 42b.

'zwrdyšn 'return (esp. into the body)' *A.R.* VIII 11b; *M* 11b; *O* 11a.

'zwrt- pr. st. 'turn back, return' *H.* IVa 9a (*rest.*); *A.R.* II 3b; VII 7a, 8a, 14a; VIII 11a.

'zy'h- pr. st. 'gird on' (*H.*, as from *uz+yāh-*, cf. 'my'st above) *H.* VIc 4a.

b'myg 'brilliant' *H.* VIc 5a.

b'myn 'brilliant' *H.* III 1a; VIc 22a.

b'r 'fruit' *H.* I 36a (*rest.*).

b'zwr 'wing' (see *H.* in *BSOAS.* xiv, p. 441 n. 2; Prof. Morgenstierne (by letter, 10.1.53) further compares Kalasha *bazurgundi* 'wing', compounded of an Iranian loan-word and a native IA. word; Kal. a, he points out, can represent Iranian *a* or *ā*) *H.* VIc 1a.

bdyg 'second' *H.* VII 10b; *A.R.* II (title).

bg 'god' pl. *A.R.* VI 62a, 71b.

bg'nyg 'divine' *H.* VIc 2b.

bnd 'bond, link; bondage' *A.R.* Ia 1b (*rest.*), 11b; VIIa 4b; *M* 2b.

- bndgyft* 'bondage' *A.R.* II 11a.
bndyst'n 'prison' *A.R.* Ia 1b.
br 'gate, door' *H.* VII 12a; *A.R.* VI 66a; VIIa 3b.
br'dr 'brother' pl. *A.R.* VI 70a.
br'z- pr. st. 'gleam, shine' *H.* I 39a.
br'zyšn 'gleam, brightness' *A.R.* VII 22a.
brhm 'form, grace; fashion, way' (see *H.*, *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1944, pp. 108-18) *A.R.* Ia 4b; VII 12b, 26a.
brm'd pt. 'weep' *A.R.* VI 49b; pr. st. *brm-* *H.* IVa 6a; *A.R.* IIIa 11a.
bry'n 'roasting, burning' *A.R.* VII 9b.
bst pt. 'bind, fasten' *A.R.* Ia 14a; VI 56a; pr. st. *bnd-* *H.* VIc 11b, 12a, 13b.
bšn'n sg. 'height, stature' (*H.*, who compares MPers. *bšn'y* 'height, stature, body' and derives both words from *baršn-*, cf. Av. *barāš-nu-*, OPers. *baršnā*; a singular *bšn* is not recorded; see above p. 107 n. 2) *H.* VII 19b; *A.R.* Ia 3b; IIIa 12b; VI 42b.
bwd pt. 'become, be'; also as auxil. verb;
pret. sg. 3 bwd or *bwt* *H.* VIc 14a; *A.R.* Ia 8b; VI 56b, 57a, &c.; as auxil. verb, *A.R.* Ia 11b, 12b; Ib 2b (*rest.*).
pret. sg. 2 bwd 'yy *A.R.* VI 55b; VIIa 14b.
pret. sg. 1 bwd hym *A.R.* Ib 4a (*rest.*).
pret. pl. 3 bwd 'hynd *A.R.* Ia 13b; VI 4a; VIII 5b; as auxil. verb, *A.R.* I 15a, 28a.
pres. st. bw-
pres. sg. 3 bwyd *A.R.* VII 29b; P 11a; as auxil. verb, P 12b.
pres. pl. 3 bwynd *H.* VII 1b; *A.R.* II 2b; VIIa 1a, 4a; as auxil. verb *H.* V 9a; *A.R.* I 26a, 26b, 27b; Ia 1a; VII 26b, 27b, 35a; VIIa 2a, 6a.
subj. sg. 3 bw'h, bw' *H.* VII 21b; *A.R.* VI 73a; VII 3b.
subj. sg. 2 bw'h, bw' *H.* VIc 3b; VII 23a; *A.R.* VII 10a, 13a; VIIa 11a.
subj. sg. 1 bw'n; as auxil. verb, *H.* IVb 3b.
bwj'gr 'saviour' *H.* VII 10a; *A.R.* VI 1b; VIII 6a (*rest.*), 13a.
bwn 'root, base' *H.* VIII 2a; *A.R.* VI 54b, 61b; VII 4b.
bwng'h 'foundation' *A.R.* Ia 3a.
bword pt. 'bear, endure' *A.R.* VII 17b; opt. *bryndyh* *A.R.* IIIc 11a.
bwz 'high, lofty' *H.* I 59b; VIc 10b; *A.R.* VI 65b; 'loud, aloud' *A.R.* I 29b.
bwzrw'r 'high, lofty' *A.R.* VI 22a, 63a; 'height' *A.R.* VII 15b, 20a.
bwzzyft 'height' *H.* VIc 20b.
bwzrynd 'high, height' (= Av. *barāzant-*) *H.* IVa 10a.
bwxtn inf. 'to save' *H.* V 12b (*rest.*); pt. *bwxt* *A.R.* VIII 2a; pr. st. *bwj-* *H.* IVa 3a, 8a, 10a (*rest.*); IVb 3a; V 1a, 6a; VIa 3a; *A.R.* IIIa 1a; IIIb 11a; VI 43a, 64a; inchoat. pr. st. *bwxs-* 'be saved' *H.* IVa 6a; VII 20b.
bwxtgyft 'salvation' *A.R.* VI 73a; 'trophy of victory, *zākūtā*' *A.R.* VI 63a.
bwy 'smell' *H.* V 20b.
bybr'n pl. '(thick) clouds' (*H.*, tentatively, as a compound with *abra-*, comparing Khot. *pyaura-*, Sogd. *pr'yβ'k*, Khwar. *pyrβyk*; previously recorded as *bybr* [*Sogdica*, p. 53] *A.R.* I 23a.
byc 'but' *H.* VIIIa 1a.
byd¹ 'second, other'; in phrase ('yw) *byd'n* *H.* I 61a; IVa 3b, 6b.
byd² 'again, then' *L* 1b.
byh 'outside' *H.* I 36b (*rest.*); *A.R.* VIIa 12a.
[by]rwlyy[n] 'of crystal' (*H.*, tentative restoration, with *r* preceding *l* as in Khotanese *vārūlya-*,

- vīrūlīnaa-*, while *l* comes first in the noun *bylwr* (see *List*); Sogdian has *βyr'wr*) *H.* IV 2a.
bzgyft 'sinfulness' *H.* Vb 11a.
bzkr 'sinner' used in the sg. of the devil, *A.R.* VI 50a (*rest.*), 64a; O 2a; pl. *A.R.* VI 21b.
[b]zyškyft 'healing' *A.R.* VI 48b.
- c suff. particle 'also, even'; see 'zyc, 'ywyč, hmgyc, hrwyc.
c'm- pr. st. 'come' *A.R.* VII 3a.
c'snyg see *wyspc'snyg*.
cm- pr. st. 'run' *A.R.* I 20b.
cmg 'course, path; movement, gait' *H.* I 32a; *A.R.* Ia 2b, 8b (*rest.*); VIII 1a.
cšm 'eye' *A.R.* VI 3a.
cw'gwn 'like, as' *H.* VIc 14a; VIII 12a; *A.R.* I 13a, 19a, 20a; VII 11a, 12a.
cw'hrb'd 'quadruped' pl. *H.* IVa 7b.
cw(n)[d] 'how much' (*H.*, connecting with Pers. *čand*) *H.* I 52b.
cxr 'wheel, cycle' *A.R.* Ia 8b.
cy¹ rel. pron. neut. 'which, what' *H.* I 32b; IVa 1b, 3b, 4b, 9b; V 1b, 2a; Va 12b; VIb 11b; VII 2a, 8a; VIII 1a; *A.R.* VI 9b, 44a, 52a, 65a; VII 10b, 17b; VIIa 12b; with suff. sg. 2 *cyd* *A.R.* VII 16b; as *Idāfah*: *H.* I 2a, 29a, 33a, 50b, &c.
cy² cj. 'for, because' *H.* I 1a, 6b; VIc 11b; VII 9a; *A.R.* I 5a, 21a, 22a; with suff. sg. 1 *cym* *A.R.* VI 50b; 'as, when' *A.R.* VI 1b.
cyd 'always' *H.* Va 11a.
cyhrg 'form, shape; nature, being' *A.R.* I 16a, 17b; Ib 2a (*rest.*); VI 5b, 42a, 53b; VII 7a; VIII 12b.
cyš 'thing' *A.R.* Ib 3a.
- d suff. pron. sg. 2 *A.R.* VII 16b.
d'dbr 'judge' *H.* Va 2a.
d'hw'n 'gift' *A.R.* I 1b; III 11a.
d'lwg 'tree, plant' *H.* IVa 9b.
- d'm'g* 'creation' (*H.*, rather than assuming a scribal error for *d'mg*) *A.R.* VII 18a.
d'md'd 'creature' pl. *H.* IVa 3a, 6b; *A.R.* VII 9a.
d'mg 'trap' (see *H.*, *BSOAS.* xi, p. 471 n. 4) *A.R.* VII 21a; N 2a.
d'r- pr. st. 'have' *H.* I 32b.
db 'trick' *H.* I 26a (possibly not a complete word); VIa 4a.
dbgr 'deceptive' *A.R.* I 3b; VIII 14a; 'deceiver' *A.R.* VII 21b.
dbgryy 'deceiver' (?) *A.R.* VIIa 12a.
dh- pr. st. 'give' *H.* Va 1b; *A.R.* VI 65a; imp. sg. 2 with suff. sg. 1 *dhwm* *A.R.* I 1b.
dhmq 'tomb' *A.R.* VII 35b.
dm[...] 'wind' ? *A.R.* I 22a.
dr 'valley' *H.* V 1b.
dr'w'ng 'deceptive, deluding' (*H.*, in preference to earlier translations) *H.* I 24b.
drd 'pain' *H.* I 6b; *A.R.* I 3b, 13b; VI 64b; VIII 5a.
drfš 'strake, wale' (*H.*, see above, p. 119 n. 1; *H.* now suggests, however, that in this passage the word may have had the meaning in which it occurs in Mandaeon, viz. 'cross, (nautical) yard'; cf. Brandt, *Mand. Religion*, p. 117 sq., p. 118 n. 2, with regard to the 'barques' of sun and moon) *A.R.* I 27a.
drwd 'health, safety' *H.* V 3a; VIIIa 1a.
drwšt 'whole, healthy'; *drwšt kr-* 'heal' *H.* I 2a; *A.R.* IIIc 12a; VI 64b.
drwštyft 'health' *H.* V 9b.
dst 'hand' *H.* I 18a; VIb 22a; VIc 14b; *A.R.* Ia 12a; VI 50a.
dštygyrd 'estate, mansion' *A.R.* VII 27a.
dw 'two' *H.* I 3b.
dwd 'smoke' *A.R.* I 22b.
dwdyn 'smoky' *H.* V 3b; *A.R.* I 14b.

dwjgnd 'stench' *H.* VIc 3b; cf. s.v. *fr'mwšt*.

dywix 'hell' *H.* V 6b, 19b (*rest.*); VII 21a; *A.R.* IIIb 1a; VIII 14b.

dwr 'far, remote' *H.* V 4a (by mistake for *rwd*?), 6b, 19a; *A.R.* VI 4a, 32b, 47b; VIII 5b.

dwrscyhr 'ugly' *A.R.* I 17a; VIII 12b.

dwošmyn 'enemy' *H.* VIa 6b; pl. *dwošmnwn* (mistake?) *H.* VIc 14b; *dwošmnyn* *A.R.* I 2b; VI 56a.

dybhr, *tybhr* 'anger' *H.* V 4a; *A.R.* I 19a (variant *tybhr* in MS. T II D 178, for which see above, p. 24 n. 2); IIIb 21a; VII 17b.

dybhr̄g, *tybhr̄g* 'banished' (*H.*, who compares Pahl. *pad dēbahr dāštan* JAsana, *P.T.* p. 5¹⁴, 'banish' or 'arrest', lit. 'hold in anger', beside Arm. *dipah* 'arrest') pl. *A.R.* I 18a. [Note: the variant *tybhr̄g* occurs in T II D 178, for which MS. see above, p. 24 n. 2].

dyd pt. 'see' *A.R.* VI 2a, 3b; VIII 12a; with suff. sg. 1 *dydwm* *A.R.* VI 1b; pr. st. *wyn-* *A.R.* VII 7a, 17a, 18a; VIII 13a.

dydn 'sight, phenomenon, aspect' *H.* I 48b, 49b, 53a; VIc 15b; *A.R.* I 12a (variant, [d]yd'yn), 16a; VI 2a, 5a (*dydyn*); VII 14a, 24a; VIII 12b. [Note: the spellings *dydyn*, [d]yd'yn both occur in T II D 178, for which MS. see above, p. 24 n. 2].

dydym 'diadem' *H.* VIc 4b, 11b, 12a, 13b; VIII 1b (*rest.*); *A.R.* VI 56a, 60b.

dyjw'r 'wretched' *A.* 2a (*rest.*); 'wretchedness' *H.* I 7b; IVb 2a; *A.R.* VII 7b, 23b, 31b; *A.* 1a (*rest.*); *P.* 1b.

dyjw'ryft 'wretchedness' *A.R.* VII 3b; VIIa 12b.

dyn'br 'devout, religious' pl. *H.* VIc 13a; VII 1a.

dysm'n 'building, structure' *H.*

IVb 1a; *A.R.* VI 54a; VIIa 15b; O 13a (*rest.*).

dysm'n b'n 'keeper of the building' pl. *A.R.* VIIa 1b.

dyw 'devil' pl. *H.* IVa 4b; *A.R.* I 18a; VI 31b; VII 30a; VIII 11a.

dywg 'insect' (see *List*, pp. 82, 90) *H.* IVa 7b.

dyz 'fortress' *H.* VIc 10a.

fr'c 'forwards, forth' *A.R.* VII 3a; in phrase 'c'yd *fr'c* 'hence' *A.R.* VII 15a; VIIa 17a (*rest.*).

fr'gwd ? *A.R.* IIIc 3b.

fr'mwšt dwjgnd 'forgetful of stench' *H.* VIc 3b.

[*fr'mw*]štyft 'forgetfulness' *H.* I 25a (*rest.*).

fr'mwxt pt. 'take off' *H.* VII 1a (*rest.*); *A.R.* VIII 4b; C 1a; pr. st. *fr'mwc-* *A.R.* IIIc 13a.

frb'd- pr. st. 'hurl down' *H.* VIa 9b.

frbst pt. 'fall down' *A.R.* Ia 3b; pr. st. *frbd-* *H.* IVb 1a.

frbwy- pr. st. 'give out scent, be fragrant' *H.* I 29a, 38a.

frg'w 'treasure' *H.* V 10a; *A.R.* VI 51a.

frh'h prep. 'for, on account of' (*H.*, as a derivative from OIr. *fra* + an adverbial ending as in *p'z'h*; in preference to earlier attempts in *Mir. Man.* iii, *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1944, p. 109 n. 3) *A.R.* VII 5b.

frhyd 'many' *A.R.* VIIa 15a.

frhyft 'love' *A.R.* VI 53a, 67a.

frhyg[r] 'friend' *H.* III 12a.

frmnywg 'hope' *H.*, who abandons the earlier translation of 'guarantee' and derives from **framan-yuka-*, cf. Av. *framanah-*, MPers. *prmy*) *H.* Va 11b (*rest.*); *A.R.* VI 8b, 10b; VII 16b.

frwd'd pt. 'understand, know' *H.* I 1a; VII 9b.

frwz- pr. st. 'fly (away)' *H.* VIc 1a.

fry'n 'friend, beloved' *A.R.* VI 42a, 53a.

fry'ng 'friend, beloved' *A.R.* I 1a, 4a.

fryh 'loving, fond'; *fryh bw-* 'be fond of' *A.R.* VII 10a, 13a.

fryštg 'envoy, apostle' *A.R.* VI 3b; pl. *H.* VII 12b; *A.R.* VI 61a.

gd pt. 'go' *A.R.* VII 2b.

ghr'y- pr. st. 'be proud' *A.R.* VII 21b.

gmbyr 'deep' (see *List*) *A.R.* VI 7b (*rest.*).

gnd'g 'stinking, foul' *H.* VII 22a.

gr'n 'heavy, grievous' *H.* I 24a, 58a; *A.R.* VI 4b.

gr'nyft 'heaviness, affliction' *H.* I 23a; *A.R.* Ib 13b (*rest.*); VI 7b (*rest.*)

gr'y- pr. st. 'slide, glide down' *A.R.* I 24b.

gryhcg 'pit' (Andreas; see *List*) *H.* IVa 1a.

grysp- pr. st. 'be taken, held' *H.* VII 20a; *P* 1b.

gryw 'soul' *H.* IVa 6a; V1b 22b; *A.R.* I 11a, 13b, 16a; Ia 11b; Ib 2b, 12b (*rest.*); VI 1a, 2b, 7b, 23b, 52b, 54b; VIII 2a, 15b; pl. *H.* I 24a; *A.R.* VII 35a (*gryw'n mwrđg*); with suff. sg. 1 *grywm* *H.* VII 10a.

gst 'loathsomeness' *H.* IVa 9a.

gwng 'sort, kind' *H.* I 22b; *A.R.* Ib 12b (*rest.*); VIII 4b (*rest.*).

gy'n 'spirit' *H.* III 11b; VIa 2a; V1b 22b; VII 23a; *A.R.* Ia 5a; Ib 13b (*rest.*); VI 8a; VII 1a, 3a, 13a, 15a, 17a; VIII 6a, 13a; *B* 1a; pl. *H.* I 2a; V1b 2b; *D* 11b.

gzng 'treasure-house' *A.R.* VII 34a.

h'mcyhrq 'homomorphic' *A.R.* VIII 11a (see above, p. 171 n. 2).

h'mgyh 'partner' (*H.*, who derives from Av. **hāmō.gaēθa* and compares OIr. **hangaiθa* 'partner', attested in Aramaic and Khwarezm-

ian, see his *Zoroaster*, p. 44) *A.R.* VIII 14a.

h'mtnb'r 'having the same body' *H.* VII 1b.

h'wyndg 'boiling, seething' *A.R.* I 19b.

hftwm 'seventh' *A.R.* VII (title).

hmg 'whole, all' *H.* I 68a; IVa 10b; V 1b, 2a, 3b, 4a; *A.R.* VI 54a; VII 4a, 22a, 25a, 31a, 36a; VIII 16b; *hmgyc* . . . [*ny*] 'not at all, never' *H.* I 29b, 38b (*rest.*).

hnd'm 'limb, member' *H.* I 23b (*rest.*); *A.R.* Ia 13b; Ib 13a, 14b (*rest.*); VI 48a, 52a, 53a, 53b, 55a; 'section, canto' titles, *passim*.

hnj' [*myšn*] 'ending, completion' *H.* VIII 11a.

hnjft pt. 'finish' *H.* VIIIa (colophon, *rest.*); *A.R.* I 12b.

hrw 'all, each' *H.* VIa 3a, 9a; V1b 12b, 13a; VIIIa 1a; *A.R.* I 6a; IIIb 12a; VI 31b, 32a, 39a; *B* 1b; *N* 2b, 12a; *P* 11b; pl. *hrwyn* *H.* I 55a; III 2b; Vb 1a; *A.R.* IIIb 22a; VI 34b; VIII 17a; *D* 1a; *M* 1a, 13a; *N* 3a; with suff. *hrwyc* *H.* I 54a.

sg. adj. with sg. subst.: *H.* V 6b, 10a, 19b; VIa 4a; V1b 2a (*rest.*), 11b; *A.R.* I 14a, 21a, 22a, 23b, 26a; Ia 1b, 2a, 2b; Ib 13a (*rest.*); IIIb 21b; VI 6b, 32b, 33b, 66a; VII 10b, 18b, 20b, 22a, 24a, 26a, 27a; VIII 11b; *P* 1b.

sg. adj. with pl. subst.: *H.* IVb 1b; V1c 1b; VIII 12b; *A.R.* VI 21b (*rest.*), 31b, 51b, 71b, 73b; VII 23a, 30a.

pl. adj. with sg. subst.: *H.* I 23b, 35b, 60b; IV 1b; IVa 1a, 5b; IVb 1a, 2a; V 6a, 9b; VIa 6a (*rest.*), 6b, 8a; VII 11b, 18b, 22b; *A.R.* I 1b, 3a, 15a, 22b, 27a, 29a; Ia 4b, 11b (*rest.*), 12a, 13a, 13b, 14b (*rest.*); Ib 12b; II 2a; VI 3b, 4a, 22b, 42b, 43a, 43b (*rest.*), 49a, 49b

- (*rest.*), 57b; VII 5a, 8a, 8b, 11b, 14a, 17b, 20a, 28a, 35b; VIIa 4a, 11b, 13a, 14a, 14b; VIII 2a, 5b, 14b.
- pl. adj. with pl. subst.*: H. I 29a, 33a, 62b; IVa 3a; V 4b, 12a; Va 12b; VIb 14a; VIc 12a, 13a; VII 1a, 9a; A.R. I 18a; Ia 4a; VI 2a, 45b, 56a, 58b; VIIa 13b.
- sg. subst.*: H. I 49a; VII 9b; A.R. VI 5b, 65a; with *pl. verb*: H. I 7a; V 13b.
- pl. subst.*: H. IVa 5a, 8a; IVb 3a; A.R. I 17a; Ib 2b; VI 71a; VII 19b, 27b; M 11a; with *sg. verb*: A.R. Ia 12b.
- hry* 'three' H. VII 8b.
- hs* 'early; beginning' (H. points out that *hy*, *Mir. Man.* i, ii, is the MPers. equivalent, with *ah- < (h)ah- < (h)aθ-*); *c hs* 'in the beginning' A.R. VII 5b; VIII 3b.
- hsyng* 'primeval' (*hyng*, *Mir. Man.* ii, *BBB.*, is the MPers. equivalent, acc. to H.) H. VIc 2a (*rest.*), 11a; A.R. VI 10a, 22a.
- hštwm* 'eighth' A.R. VIII (title).
- hw* 'that; the; he' H. I 59b; H. Va 11a; VIc 10a; VIIa 2b; A.R. IIIc 12b; V 54b; VI 33a; D 11a; N 13a; *pl. H.* I 23a, 39b, 51a; VII 8b; A.R. I 17b; II 1a; VI 31a; VII 30a.
- sg. adj. with sg. subst.*: H. I 49b; IVa 10a; V 1a, 10b, 12b; Va 12b; VIc 2a, 15b, 20b, 21a; VII 12a; VIII 1b, 2a, 2b, 11b, 13a; VIIa 2a; A.R. I 12a, 14a, 24a; IIIa 2b; IIIb 12b; IIIc 3a; VI 3a, 68a, 69a; VII 12b, 21a, 29a, 30b; VIII 1a, 3a; A 2b.
- pl. adj. with sg. subst.*: H. I 22a, 32a, 34a, 34b, 48a, 53a; IVa 8b; IVb 3b; V 20b; VIc 12b; VII 19b, 20a; A.R. I 3b, 16a, 19a, 27a; Ia 12b, 13a; VI 4b, 5a, 45a; VII 9b, 21b; VIII 5a; M 3a.
- pl. adj. with pl. subst.*: H. I 24a; A.R. VII 19b.
- sg. subst.*: H. I 62a; IVa 6a; V 2b, 6a; VIc 11b; VII 9a; VIII 1a; A.R. VI 2b, 45b; VII 5b, 19b, 26b; D 12a.
- pl. subst.*: H. I 18b, 33b, 34b, 63a; III 12b; IVa 9a; V 12b, 19a; Va 1a, 1b, 2b; Vb 11b; VIc 12a; A.R. I 28b; VI 42b; VII 7b, 22b; VIIa 5a, 7a; E 11b; P 1a (twice).
- hw'n* 'agony' (H.) H. IVb 1b; Va 12b; VIb 2a; VII 19b (*rest.*); A.R. IIIb 20b; VII 8b.
- hw'r'm* 'at ease, content' A.R. VII 6b.
- hw'rmy[n]* 'gentle, quiet' P 12a.
- hwcyhryft* 'beauty' A.R. IIIc 1a; VI 42a, 51b; VII 10b.
- hwfry'd* 'helper' H. V 2b.
- hwfry'd'd* pt. 'help' A.R. VIII 6a; pr. st. *hwfry'd-* H. V 10b; Va 2b; imp. sg. A.R. I 1b.
- hwłkg* 'gristle, cartilage' (H., who compares Khot. *hulga-* 'soft' and for a parallel development of meaning cites Pers. *narme-yi bīnī*, *narme-yi gūš*, &c.; *hul-* he derives from *vrdu-*, cf. Av. *varədva-*, to which may have belonged the Sogdian equivalent in A.R. Ia 13a) A.R. Ia 13a.
- [*hw*]my'g 'blissful' (see H., *N.G.G.W.* 1933, p. 310 n. 2) H. VIc 3a.
- hwš-* pr. st. 'become dry, wither' (see also *xwš'd*) A.R. VII 12b.
- hwıdg* 'fortunate'; with suff. *pl.* *hwıdgm'n* H. (title, *passim*); H. I 1a; VIIa, colophon.
- hwynd* ? (possibly to be read *hwynd'nd*) M 1b.
- hxt* pt. 'draw out' A.R. I 26b.
- hynw'r* 'flood, torrent' (H., who refers to Pers. *hīn* 'torrent' and

- attributes this meaning also to Av. *haēnā* in certain passages) *H.* IVa 2a.
- hynz'wr* 'mighty' *H.* VII 10b.
- [*h*]ynz'wryft 'might' *A.R.* IIIa 12b.
- h(y)štyg* 'brick' (*H.*, Av. *ištya*, OPers. *išti*) *A.R.* VIIa 1a.
- jd* pt. 'strike, hit' *H.* V 9a; pr. st. *jn-* *H.* V 13b.
- jfr* 'depth, abyss' *H.* V 1a; *A.R.* II 12a; VII 20b; VIIa 7a, 13a; VIII 13b.
- jfr'n* probably sg. 'depth' rather than pl. of *jfr* (*H.*, who compares *bšn'n*, q.v.) *H.* I 50b; IVa 10b; IVb 3b; V 9a (*rest.*); Va 11b; VIc 20a; *A.R.* I 24b; VI 45a; VII 31a; VIIa 2a; *M* 3a (*rest.*).
- jm'n* 'hour' *A.R.* I 12a; IIIb 10b; pl. *jmynyn* *A.R.* VI 56b; VII 13b.
- jung* 'mildew, rust' (*H.*, who corrects *jngyn* to 'rusty' in *M* 92, 7a, see *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1944, p. 111; = Arm., Pers. *žang*; in the meaning 'fight' *jnng* is only Middle Persian) *A.R.* VI 44a.
- jxm* 'wound' *H.* V 4b, 9a; *A.R.* VI 32b, 43b.
- jiywhr* 'life' *A.R.* I 12a (*rest.*); Ia 11b (*rest.*), 13a (*rest.*); VI 54b; VII 25a, 33b; VIII 15b.
- kd* 'when' *H.* VIc 21a; *A.R.* VI 1a; VIII 7a.
- kd'c* 'ever'; *kd'c* . . . *ny* 'never' *H.* V 3a, 5b; *A.R.* IIIc 1b; *kd'c m'* . . . 'never' *H.* VIb 24b.
- kdg* 'house' *A.R.* VII 3b.
- kft* pt. 'fall' *A.R.* I 28a; Ib 12a; VII 1b; pr. st. *kf-* *H.* IVa 8b; VIIb 14b, 23b; VII 19a, 21a; *A.R.* IIIc 2b; VII 11a, 20b; VIIa 2a.
- kl'n* 'big' *H.* VIc 10b; *A.R.* VI 10b.
- qmbyg* 'short, brief' (see *List*) *A.R.* VII 13b.
- kr'n* 'side, direction' *A.R.* VI 3a.
- krm¹* 'action' (see *H.*, *BBB.*, p. 62 n. to 516 and n. 1); *A.R.* VIII 16b.
- krm²* 'shooting-star, comet' (*H.*, from Av. *karāma-*); *A.R.* Ia 2a.
- kryšn* 'form, beautiful form' (see Benveniste, *BSOS.* ix, pp. 512-13; *H.*, *BSOAS.* xi, pp. 470 n. 1, 733) *A.R.* VII 11b.
- kw¹* 'that' *A.R.* VI 3b; VIIa 1b; VIII 12a; introducing direct speech, *H.* IVa 6a; VIII 1a; 'so that, in order to' *H.* IVa 8b; IVb 3b; Va 2b; *A.R.* I 13b, 19b; VI 64a; *P* 1a; with suff. sg. 1 *kwm* *A.R.* VI 2b.
- kw²* relat. 'where' *H.* IVa 2b, 5b; IVb 2b; Va 11b; *A.R.* VI 45a; 'c *kw* 'whereat' *A.R.* VI 49b.
- kwb^g* 'vexation' (*H.*, who connects with Skt. *kopa-* 'irritation, passion, anger', cf. also Pashto *cwab*, *Morgenstierne*, *EVP.* 18, and abandons the translation 'stumble', see *List*) *A.R.* VI 66b.
- qw^f* 'hill' pl. *M* 2a.
- ky* interrog. pron. 'who' *H.* IVa 10a; V 1a; with suff. sg. 1 *kym* *H.* IVa 1a, 2a, 3a, &c.; rel. pron. 'who, which' *H.* I 7a, 49a; IVa 6b; Va 1a; VIa 3b, 8b; VIc 22b, &c.; with suff. sg. 1 *kym* *A.R.* I 3b; with suff. pl. 3 *kys'n* *H.* V 13b.
- kyc* 'one, someone'; *kyc ny* 'no one' *A.R.* II 1b; VIIa 3b.
- kyrb^g* 'pious, devout' *H.* VIII 11b.
- kyrbkr* 'beneficent' *H.* I 1b, 48b (*rest.*); VIb 24a; VIc 5b; *A.R.* I 4a; pl. *H.* VIc 13a; VII 9a; *A.R.* VI 70a.
- kyrd* pt. 'make' *H.* I 18a; *A.R.* VIIa 12b, 13b, 15a; VIII 3b; pr. st. *kr-* imp. sg. 2 *kr* *H.* I 1b. pres. sg. 3 *kryd* *H.* I 2a. subj. sg. 3 *kr'h*, *kr'* *H.* V 6b, 19a; *A.R.* IIIa 1b; V 55b.

- subj. sg. 2 kr' A.R. VII 17a.*
subj. sg. 1 kr'n A.R. VI 32b, 64b
 (twice), 65b.
opt. kryndyh A.R. IIIa 2a; IIIc
 12a.
gyrdg'n 'action' A.R. VI 22b; O 12a.
kyšt pt. 'sow' A.R. VI 52a.
- lrz 'trembling, tremor' H. IVa 4b;*
A.R. IIIc 3a; VI 23a.
- m suff. pron. sg. 1; see 'bd'c-, 'wd,*
cy², dh-, dyd, gryw, kw¹, ky,
w'xt.
- m' 'not' (prohibitive); with subj.,*
H. VIb 24b; A.R. II 3a; VI 8a;
VII 1a, 3b, 6b, 7a, 10a, 13a, 14a.
m'd 'mother' A.R. VI 69a.
m'h 'month' pl. A.R. Ia 8a.
-m'n suff. pron. pl. 1 H. (title, pas-
sim); H. I 1a.
- m'n- pr. st. 'dwell, remain' H. VIc*
 22b; *A.R. VII 19b.*
m'nh'g 'like, similar to' A.R. I 20a.
m'nq 'mind' A.R. VI 6b.
m'nynd 'inhabitant' pl. A.R. VI
 73b; *F 11b.*
m'nyndg 'inhabitant' H. IVb 2a.
m'nyst'n 'dwelling place, monastery'
H. I 6a (rest.), 60b; A.R. VII 20a.
m'sy'g 'fish' pl. H. IVa 7b; A.R. I
 15b (*rest.*).
mdy'n prep. 'among, amid' H. I
 39b, 49a, 58a; *A.R. I 2b.*
mn obl. case pers. pron. sg. 1 'me'
 (cf. *cas. rect. 'z*) *H. VII 2a, 10a,*
 11a &c.
mn'n poss. pron. sg. 1 'mine' A.R.
 Ia 13b, 15a; Ib 12a.
mnwhmyd 'mind' A.R. VI 8b,
 10b, 52b, 53b.
mrdwhm 'men, man' H. I 52a (rest.);
A.R. I 17b; pl. [mr]dwhm'n D 2a.
mrdwhmg 'man'; pl. H. IVa 7a.
mrn 'death' H. V 2a; VIa 4b (rest.),
 8b; *A.R. VI 3b, 62b, 72a; VII 1b,*
 14b, 35b; *VIIa 2a, 12b; VIII*
 11b, 15a.
- mrnyn 'of death, deadly' A.R. VII*
 6b.
**[mr]w 'ant, termite' (H. restored*
 this form, or perhaps **[mwr]w,*
 as the continuation of *Av. maoiri-*)
H. I 18b.
ms 'further; longer' A.R. V 62a;
 VII 6a, 10a, 13a; *ms . . . ny 'no*
 longer, not any more' *H. VII 22a;*
VIIIa 3b (rest.); A.R. VI 50a;
VIIa 3a; ms m' (the same) A.R.
 VII 1a.
mwhr 'seal' H. VIb 12a; A.R. Ia
 12b.
mwhrg 'vertebra' A.R. Ia 15b.
mwjdg 'good news' A.R. VI 8b.
mwordg 'dead' A.R. VII 35a.
mwrq 'bird' pl. H. IVa 7a.
mwrq'ryd 'pearl' A.R. VI 51b.
mwrt 'death' (see List) A.R. VII
 4a.
myg 'cloud' pl. A.R. VII 2b.
mygdg 'fruit' (see H., BSOAS. xii,
 p. 56) *H. I 35b.*
myx 'nail, rivet' A.R. I 26b.
- n'm 'name' H. VIc 14a; pd n'm*
 'according to the name, liter-
 ally, precisely' (H.) *H. VIII 12a.*
n'r- pr. st. 'moan, groan' (see List)
A.R. VIIa 4b.
n'w'z 'helmsman' pl. A.R. I 29a;
 VI 2a.
ng'n 'buried treasure' (H., who
 abandons 'signet-ring', see *Mir.*
Man. iii, but hesitates between
 'buried treasure', extension from
 'buried', cf. *Pahl. nikān*, and
 simply 'treasure, hoard' =
MPers. ny'n, *Khot. nyanaa-*,
 see *Gershevitch, Asia Major*, ii.
 143, with some preference for
 the latter, in view of the resemb-
 lance of phrase: *MPers. ny'n 'wd*
g[nz]: Parth. ng'n 'wd gzn; both
MPers. and Khot. could as well
 have had -g- originally as -d-)
A.R. VI 51a.

ngwh- pr. st. 'engulf, submerge (trans.)'? *A.R.* I 19b; 'be engulfed, sink'? *H.* V 19a; *A.R.* II 12a.
ngws'r 'downwards' *H.* VII 19a; *A.R.* VII 20b.
ngwst pt. 'hide, cover' *H.* I 25b (*rest.*); *A.R.* Ib 2b (*rest.*); VI 3b, 5a; pr. st. *ngwnd-* *A.R.* VI 67a.
ngwz'dn inf. 'to hide, disappear' *A.R.* I 24b.
nhxt pt. 'hold back, hold down, restrain' *A.R.* VIIa 13a; VIII 1b.
nm'c 'reverence, obeisance' *H.* I 59b.
nm'y- pr. st. 'show' *H.* VIc 2b; *A.R.* VI 68a, 69a.
nmrz- pr. st. 'make smooth' (see *List*) *A.R.* VI 66b.
nr 'manly, heroic' (*H.*, in preference to 'strong', as earlier translated; he points out that *nr mnwhmyd* here may be regarded as resuming *Av. naire. manah-*, *Skt. nrmanas-*) *A.R.* VI 53b.
nrh 'hell' *H.* IVa 8b, 10b; IVb 3b; V 12b; *A.R.* VII 5a; VIIa 3b; VIII 17a; *P* 2b.
nrhp'n 'guardian of hell' pl. *H.* VIb 22a.
nrhyg 'hellish' *H.* IVb 2b (*rest.*); V 10b.
ns'w 'corpse, body' *A.R.* I 12a.
nw'g¹ 'new' *A.R.* IIc 13b; VI 65b.
nw'g² 'song, melody' *H.* I 60a.
nwx 'beginning'; 'c *nwx* 'in the beginning' *A.R.* VI 55a; VII 5b; *pd nwx* (the same) *A.R.* VIII 3b.
nwxz'd 'first born' *H.* VIc 11a.
nx'b 'drowning' (*H.* translated this noun, to which a verb *nx'f'dn* belongs, as 'being stifled, smothered, drowned' and related it to a stem *xab'-*, well represented in Persian: *xabe* / *xafe* 'strangulation', *xabidan* / *xafidan* 'choke', *xaff* 'nightmare'; later I came across *H.* I 29b, where, as Dr.

Waley kindly established, the Chinese equivalent is *ni* 溺 'drown(ed)', which thus confirms the explanation) *H.* I 29b (*rest.*); *A.R.* I 27a; VI 45a.
nxcyr 'beast of the chase' *H.* IVa 13b.
nxwyn 'first' *H.* I (title); *A.R.* Ia (title—*rest.*).
ny 'not' *passim*; with suff. pl. 3 *nyš'n* *H.* V 10b.
nyd'mg 'shell, husk' *A.R.* VIII 13a.
nydrxt pt. 'overwhelm, subdue' *H.* VIc 20b.
nyrd prep. 'near, beside' *A.R.* VI 71b; *O* 3a.
nys'g 'bright, splendid' *H.* I 59a; VIc 22a; *A.R.* VI 42a.
nys'gyft 'brightness, splendour' *H.* I 22b.
nys'r'd pt. 'begin' *H.* I (title); *A.R.* I (title).
nyš'n 'sign, standard' *A.R.* VI 22a, 63b; see also under *ny*.
n(y)xw(m)[bn] 'cover, shutter' (*H.*, tentatively, comparing *Pers. ni-humban*; but the reading is very doubtful) *A.R.* Ia 1b.
nyz'wryft 'feebleness' *H.* I 51b.
nyzm'n 'fog' *H.* V 3b; *A.R.* I 14b, 22b.
(n.)hg (?) *A.R.* VIII 5b.
p'd 'foot' pl. *A.R.* Ia 11a.
p'db'rg 'raiment' (Andreas, comparing *b'rg* 'dress'. This word must be distinct from *p'db'rg* in the only other recorded passage, *JRAS.*, 1944, p. 143 n. 6, where *H.* translates 'bribe', cf. *MPers. p'rg*: 'for the bribe, which the Jews gave him, he betrayed his own master and teacher') *A.R.* VI 68b.
p'dgws 'region, direction' *A.R.* I 22a; 'w . . . *p'dgws* 'towards' *A.R.* VI 3a.

- p'dgyrb* 'shape, form' *H.* VIc 21a, 22a.
[p'dy]fr's 'reward, retribution' *A.R.* VII 31b.
p'dyšnwahr 'recompense' *H.* VIII 11b; *A.R.* VIIa 6b.
p(')[dyxš'n] 'ruler, emperor' *H.* VIc 10b.
p'rgyn 'ditch, moat' *H.* IVa 4a.
p'y- pr. st. 'protect' *H.* VIb 3a.
p'z'h adv. 'before one's face, in front; on one's face, prone' (*H.*, who explains as adv. in *-āh*, cf. *frh'h* above, from *pāz* = OIr. *pāzah-* 'face, surface', on which see Bailey, *BSOAS.* xii, pp. 323-6; xiii, p. 136) *H.* VIc 20b; VII 19b.
pd, pt prep. 'in' (of place) *H.* I 18b, 23a, 23b, 34a, 34b; IVa 8b, 9a, &c.; 'upon' (of place) *H.* VIc 4b; 'in, with' (manner) *H.* I 22b, 59b; VIc 1a, 3a; *A.R.* VI 67a, &c.; 'with, by' (instrument) *H.* V 4b, 5a, 9a, 13a; VIa 3b; VIc 1a, &c.; 'during, on' (of time) *A.R.* VI 56b; VII 29a; VIIa 11a;—*pd n'm* 'according to name, literally' (?) (*H.*) *H.* VIII 12a.
pdwnd 'bar, clamp' *A.R.* I 26a; Ia 1b; IIa 41a.
pdwos[d] pt. 'long for, desire' *A.R.* VII 16b.
pdgryft pt. 'take, receive'; *H.* I 1a; VIc 20a; *A.R.* I 15b, 18b; pr. st. *pdgyrw-* *H.* VIII 1b; *A.R.* VIIa 6b.
pdq[r] 'statue, image' *H.* V 12a.
pdm'n 'measure, number' *H.* I 69b (*rest.*); *A.R.* VII 2a.
pdmwcn 'garment' *H.* VIc 12b; *A.R.* VI 9a (*rest.*); VIII 4a.
pdmwg 'garment' *H.* VIc 4a.
pdmwxt pt. 'put on' *A.R.* VIII 4a; pr. st. *pdmwc-* *H.* VIc 4a (*pdmwj-*), 11b, 12b, 13b; *A.R.* IIIc 13b (*rest.*); VII 36b; VIIa 2b (*rest.*).
pdr'st pt. 'prepare' *A.R.* IIIb 11b.
pdr'st pt. 'raise up' *A.R.* I 19b.
pdr'z'd second. pt. 'raise up' *A.R.* VI 3a, 7b.
pdrz- pr. st. 'rise up' *A.R.* I 24a.
pdw'c- pr. st. 'answer' *H.* Va 2b; *A.R.* I 2a; IIIc 11b.
pdwh- pr. st. 'pray to, implore' *H.* Va 2a.
pdxš'h- see *pdyxš'h-*.
pdyd pt. 'kindle, burn' (see *List* under pr. st. *pdyn-*; Ghilain, p. 84) *A.R.* I 14b.
pdys[t?] 'promise' *A.R.* VII 16a.
pdystwd pt. 'promise' *H.* VIII 11a.
pdyšfr 'honour' *H.* I 68b.
pdyšfr'wnd 'honoured' *A.R.* VI 71b.
pdyšt 'place, home' *A.R.* VI 67b.
pdyšt'n 'leg' (*H.*, who compares Av. *paitištāna-*, Sogd. *ptšt'n*, see *BSOAS.* xi, p. 475 n. 3) *A.R.* Ia 14b.
pdyxš'h'd pt. 'rule' *A.R.* VI 56b; pr. st. *pdxš'h-* *H.* VIc 14a; VIIa 1b.
pdyzb'd pt. 'drive off, chase away' (*H.*, who identifies the verb with MPers. *pdyz-*, *pdyyz-*, differently explained *ZII.*, ix, p. 253¹⁸, and assumes original **pati-azya-* and the sound change exemplified by Old Pers. *hizāna-*, Parth. *'zā'n*) *A.R.* VIII 1a.
phrg 'watch-post' *H.* VIa 6a; VII 18b; *A.R.* IIIb 2b (*rest.*); IV 52b; *L* 11a; pl. *H.* VII 20a.
phrgb'n 'keeper of a watch-post' pl. *A.R.* IIIb 2b.
pnd'n 'path' *A.R.* IIIa 1b, 2b.
pnjwm 'fifth' *H.* Vb (title).
pr postpos. 'beyond, outside' (*H.*, tentatively, cf. Av. *parō*, &c.; but the reading is doubtful) *A.R.* VIII 7a.
(prd)wy 'beam' (see *H.*, *BSOAS.* xii, pp. 309-10; but the reading here is doubtful) *A.R.* I 25a.

prm'ng 'λογισμός' *A.R.* Ib 3b (*rest.*).
prm'w'd pt. 'terrify' *A.R.* I 18b.
prmwsyšn 'terror' *P* 11a.
prw'n adv. 'before, in the presence'
H. VII 19a; *A.R.* VI 68b; prep.
 'before' *H.* VIa 9a; VIb 13a,
 14b; *A.R.* VI 1b, 66a.
prxyzyšn 'activity' *H.* I 33a; VIa
 8a.
pryft (= *paryaft*) pt. 'come upon,
 reach' *A.R.* I 14a; pr. st. *pry'b-*
H. IVb 2a; *A.R.* VI 23a (*rest.*),
 72a; VII 19a; *P* 11b.
prysp 'wall' *H.* VIb 13b; pl. *H.* IVa
 4a (*rest.*).
prywg 'victory' *H.* VIc 20a; VIII
 12b.
pštḡ 'fettered' (see *Mir. Man.* iii,
 glossary s.v.) *H.* VIc 14a; *A.R.*
 VI 59a.
pšyft pt. 'trouble, toss about' (*H.*,
 cf. *'šyft*) *A.R.* I 13a.
pw'g 'clean' *A.R.* VI 68b.
pw'r 'full'; construed directly with
 substantive, *H.* I 68a; IVa 4b;
 V 4a; VIb 21b; *A.R.* VI 6b (*rest.*);
 construed with *pd* and sub-
 stantive, *H.* V 3b; *A.R.* VI 70b.
pwrt 'ford, bridge' (*H.*; cf. *Av.*
paratu-) *A.R.* VI 57b.
pwsg 'garland' *H.* I 22a.
pwwd 'small vessel, skiff' *A.R.* I
 24a.
pw(x)g 'joint (of the body)' (see
List) *A.R.* Ia 11a, 12a.
pydr 'father' *A.R.* VI 68a; pl. *H.*
 VIc 2b.
pylg 'altar' (see *H.*, *BSOAS.* xiv,
 p. 518 n. 6) *H.* V 12a.
pzd- pr. st. 'chase, frighten' *A.R.*
 VI 63b.

r'h 'road' *A.R.* VI 66b.
r'myšn 'peace' *A.R.* VI 73b.
r'stygr 'righteous, just' *H.* Va 2a.
r'styft 'righteousness' *H.* VIII 12a;
A.R. VI 50b, 52a.
r'z 'mystery' *H.* VII 9b.

rdn 'jewel' *H.* VIc 5a; pl. *rdnyn*
A.R. VI 71b.
rf 'attack' *H.* I 33b.
rhg 'vein' (*H.*, as = Sogd. *r'k*, Pers.
rag, *BSOAS.* xiv, p. 449 n. 1;
 Prof. Morgenstierne (by letter,
 10.1.53) compares Yidgha *rīyo*,
 Munji *rūgo*, < **rākā*, see his
IIFL. ii, p. 243 s.v.; Prof. Bailey
 (8. 53) kindly draws my attention
 to the following forms of the Khot.
 word identified by him in this
 meaning: nom./acc. pl. *re*, *rrī*,
K.T. i, p. 60 128 v 5; p. 207
 18 r 3; *K.B.T.*, p. 19, 222; p. 27,
 146; gen. pl. *rrām*, *rrā*, *K.T.* i, p.
 40 103 v 3, p. 96 150 v 4) pl. *A.R.*
 Ia 4a.
rmnyg 'delightful' *H.* I 60a.
rnj 'toil, labour' *N* 12a.
rwc, *rwž* 'day' *H.* VIc 21a; VIII 13a;
A.R. I 30a; VII 29a; VIIa 11a;
 pl. *A.R.* I 12b; Ia 8a; VII 2a,
 13b; VIII 2b.
rwđ¹ 'river' pl. *A.R.* Ia 4a.
rwđ² 'compassion' *A.R.* IIIb 1b;
 possibly also *H.* V 4a (written as
dwr).
rwmb 'mouth' *H.* IVa 3a; VIc 10a.
rwšn adj. 'light' pl. *H.* VIc 21b;
 'beings of Light' *A.R.* (title,
passim); *A.R.* I 1a; VI 69a.
rwšn subst. 'light' *H.* I 6b (*rest.*),
 68a; VIc 4a; *A.R.* VI 6a (*rest.*),
 10a, 44b, 54a, 55b, 61b, 63b;
 VII 33a; VIII 12a; *L* 1b (*rest.*).
rymn subst. 'filth' *A.R.* VI 44a
 (*rest.*); adj. 'filthy' *A.R.* VII 34b.
rzm'hyg 'warlike' *H.* IVa 2b.
rzmg'hyyg 'warlike' *A.R.* VI 21a.
rzwr 'straight' *A.R.* IIIa 2a.

s'g 'number; part' (see *H.*, *BSOAS.*
 xii, p. 308) pl. *A.R.* VII 35a.
s'n- pr. st. 'lead up' *H.* VIII 2a.
s'w- pr. st. 'crush' (*H.*; cf. Pers.
sāy-) *A.R.* VI 31a.
sc- pr. st. 'be fitting' *A.R.* VIIa 1b.

- [*sd*] *f* 'being, entity' *H.* VIc 2b (?).
sn- pr. st. 'ascend, go up' *H.* I 48a;
A.R. VIIa 1b.
sr 'head' *H.* VIc 4b; 'crest, summit' *A.R.* I 24a; 'beginning, end' *H.* I 62a (*rest.*); *A.R.* Ia 4b; 'chief thing' *A.R.* VI 51a.
srd adj. 'cold' *A.R.* Ia 13b (*rest.*).
srsk 'drop (of liquid)' *H.* V 5b.
swgb 'ryg' 'sad' *A.R.* VIIa 4a.
swhyšn 'sighing' (*H.*, who connects with Skt. *śvas-*, cf. *Morgenstierne, IIFL.* ii, index s.v. *sigh*; not to be confused with Pahlavi *swhšn*) *A.R.* VII 9b.
sw(k) [*']n* 'rudder' (restored by *H.* on the supposition that the broken word was loan-word from Akkadian *sikkānu*, Syr. *saukānā*, Mand. *swkn*, cf. Arab. *sukkān*, which is also used in Persian) *A.R.* I 28a (*rest.*).
swon 'word, utterance' *A.R.* VI 21a.
sy- pr. st. 'lie' (*H.*, who abandons the connexion with Av. *sađaya-* and now derives from Av. *sāy-*) *A.R.* VII 6b, 7b.
[*sy*] *ryft* 'decay' *H.* I 36a (?).
sy'wyft 'blackness' *A.R.* VII 35b.
synj[yn] 'escape' (?) *H.* VII 8b.
systg 'broken' (see *List*) *A.R.* VII 12a.
syzdyn 'overwhelming, tyrannic' *A.R.* VIII 12b.
syzdyft 'overwhelming might, tyranny' *H.* VII 19b.
-š suff. pron. sg. 3, *A.R.* VII 2b.
š'd 'glad' *P* 1a.
š'dcn 'glad' *H.* VIII 1b; *A.R.* VI 71a.
š'dyft 'gladness' *H.* I 2b, 60a (*rest.*), 69a; VIc 3a, 11b, 12b, 14a; VII 21b; VIII 2b; VIIa 1b, 2b; *A.R.* VI 6b, 7a, 52b, 64b, 69b, 70b; VII 6a.
š'dzyrd 'glad of heart' *A.R.* VIIa 11a.
-š'n suff. pron. pl. 3; see under 'wd, 'z, ky, ny.
šh- pr. st. 'be able' *H.* V 12b; *A.R.* Ib 1b (*rest.*).
šhr 'land, world; aeon' *H.* VIc 2a; VIIa 2a; *A.R.* VII 18a; *D* 12b; pl. *H.* VIc 21b.
šhrd'r 'sovereign, lord' *H.* I 1b; VIc 21b.
šhrd'ryft 'dominion, realm' *H.* I 50a (*rest.*); VIc 4b, 11a, 11b; *A.R.* VI 65b; VII 22a.
šhryst'n 'large town, city' *A.R.* VIIa 14b.
šhwm 'sixth' *H.* VIb (title); *A.R.* VI (title).
šrg 'lion' pl. *A.R.* VII 32a.
šwd pt. 'go' *A.R.* VI 45a.
šwjyft 'holiness' (see *Mir. Man.* iii, glossary, s.v.) *A.R.* VI 55a.
šybh 'path' (see *H.* in *BSOAS.* xiv, p. 446 n. 6); *A.R.* VIII 16a.
šyrg'mg 'comrade, friend' pl. *A.R.* VII 7b.
t'b'd pt. 'shine' *A.R.* VI 1b, 61a.
t'm'dg 'choking' (*H.*, as from *tām* = Skt. *tāmyati* 'choke, be suffocated, faint away'; see *tnd* below) *A.R.* VII 8b.
t'r 'darkness' *H.* V 3b; *A.R.* I 15a; II 13a (*rest.*); VI 5a, 61b, 62b, 63b; VII 36a; VIIa 2b; *O* 3b; *P* 11b.
t'ryg adj. 'dark' *H.* V 1b; *A.R.* III 40b, 70b; VI 55b; VIII 3a, 12a; *D* 12b.
tc- pr. st. 'run' *A.R.* VI 58a.
tft 'hot, burning' *H.* V 5a; *A.R.* VIII 3a (*rest.*).
tgnbnd 'swiftly, in haste' (for etymology, see Benveniste, *J.A.*, 1951, p. 121) *A.R.* VII 21a; 'c tgnbnd 'swiftly' *A.R.* VII 18b, 25b.
tgrgyn 'of hail' *A.R.* I 23a.
tn 'body' *H.* VIc 12b; *A.R.* VI 9a.

tnb'r 'body' *H.* I 32b, 58a; IVa 7a; VII 22a; *A.R.* I 3b; Ia 4a; IIIc 13a, 13b; VIII 5a; *D* 2a.

tnb'ryn 'bodily, of the body' *A.R.* VII 7a.

tnd 'faint' (*H.*, as the old ppp., *tanta-* = Skt. *tānta-* 'breathing with difficulty, fainted away; (of the eye) languid', which latter meaning also occurs in Parthian, see *Mir. Man.* iii, e 6; cf. *t'm'dg* above; differently Benveniste, *J.A.* 1936, p. 200) *A.R.* VIIa 12b.

tndwr 'thunder' *A.R.* I 23a.

tng, tning 'distress, pang' *H.* IVa 10b; IVb 3b; V 6b; VIb 21b; *A.R.* IIIb 12b; VI 4b, 49b, 72b; VII 5a, 22b, 30b, 36b; VIIa 2b, 12b; VIII 3a (*rest.*), 14b; *A* 2b; *K* 12b.

trs 'fear' *H.* I 64a; IVa 4b; VIa 3b; *A.R.* I 15b, 18b, 27b (variant); Ia 14a; IIa 41b; VI 66b, 72a; VIII 16b.

trw- pr. st. 'overcome' *H.* I 7b.

tryxs- pr. st. 'be oppressed' *H.* V 13a; *A.R.* Ia 5a (*rest.*).

tšyndyft 'thirst, drought' (see below under *wšynd*) *H.* I 28b; V 5a.

tw, tw pron. sg. 2 'thou, thee', *passim*.

twxm 'seed, race' *A.R.* VII 25a.

txl 'bitter' *H.* V 19b.

tybhr see *dybhr*.

tybhrg see *dybhrg*.

tyrgystr comp. adj. 'swifter' *H.* I 32a.

tyrs'd pt. 'be afraid' *A.R.* I 16a; pr. st. *tyrs-* *H.* VIb 24b; *A.R.* VI 8a, 33b; VII 1a.

tyšt pt. 'be affrighted' (*H.*; cf. *tyštyn*) *A.R.* Ib 13a.

tyštyft 'dreadfulness' *A.R.* I 16b.

tyštyn 'dreadful' (see *List*) *A.R.* I 17a; IIIc 2a (*rest.*).

u see *'wd*.

w'c'fryd 'created by word, spiritual' (*H.*; see above, p. 103 n. 1) *H.* VIc 10a.

w'd 'wind' *H.* V 5a; *P* 12a.

w'd'g 'leader, pilot' *A.R.* I 29a.

w'r 'rose' *A.R.* VII 12a.

w'r- pr. st. 'be glad' *H.* VIII 2b; VIIIa 2b.

w'r'n 'rain' *A.R.* I 22b.

w'st pt. 'lead' *O* 1b; pr. st. *w'y-* *A.R.* VI 67b; VII 14b, 15b.

w'wryft 'belief' *H.* VII 9b.

w'xt pt. 'speak, say' *H.* VII 2a; VIII 1a; *A.R.* VIII 13a; with suff. sg. 1 *w'xtwm* *A.R.* VI 1a; pr. st. *w'c-* *A.R.* VI 8a.

w'y 'woe' *A.R.* VII 36a.

wbr'z['g] 'brilliant, shining' *A.R.* VII 24a.

wcn 'voice' *A.R.* I 23b; IIIb 21a; VII 9b.

wcydg 'chosen' pl. *H.* VIc 13a.

wcyh- pr. st. 'teach' *A.R.* VI 61b.

wcyhyšn 'teaching' *H.* I 1a.

wd'r- see *wyd'r-*.

wdc- pr. st. 'melt' *A.R.* VII 11a.

wdng, wdnng 'constraint, distress' *H.* IV 1b; *A.R.* I 11b (*rest.*).

wdr- see *wydr-*.

wdybyšn 'delusion' *H.* I 24b.

wfr 'snow' *A.R.* VII 11a.

wg'nyšn see *wyg'nyšn*.

whyrd pt. 'be confused' (see *H.*, *BSOAS.* x, p. 509; also 'to change, be changed' acc. to *H.*, who refers to Pahl. *wihir-*, Bailey, *Zor. Probl.*, p. 82, Persian *guhūrīdan*/*guharīdan* and by wrong analogy *gauharīdan*, and Kurdish *gohār-/guhūr-*) *A.R.* Ib 2b.

wm'd pt. 'experience, suffer' *A.R.* VII 5a.

wmys- pr. st. 'fade' *H.* I 22a.

*wnšt*g 'destroyed' *A.R.* VIIa 1a.

wnw'd see *wynw'd*.

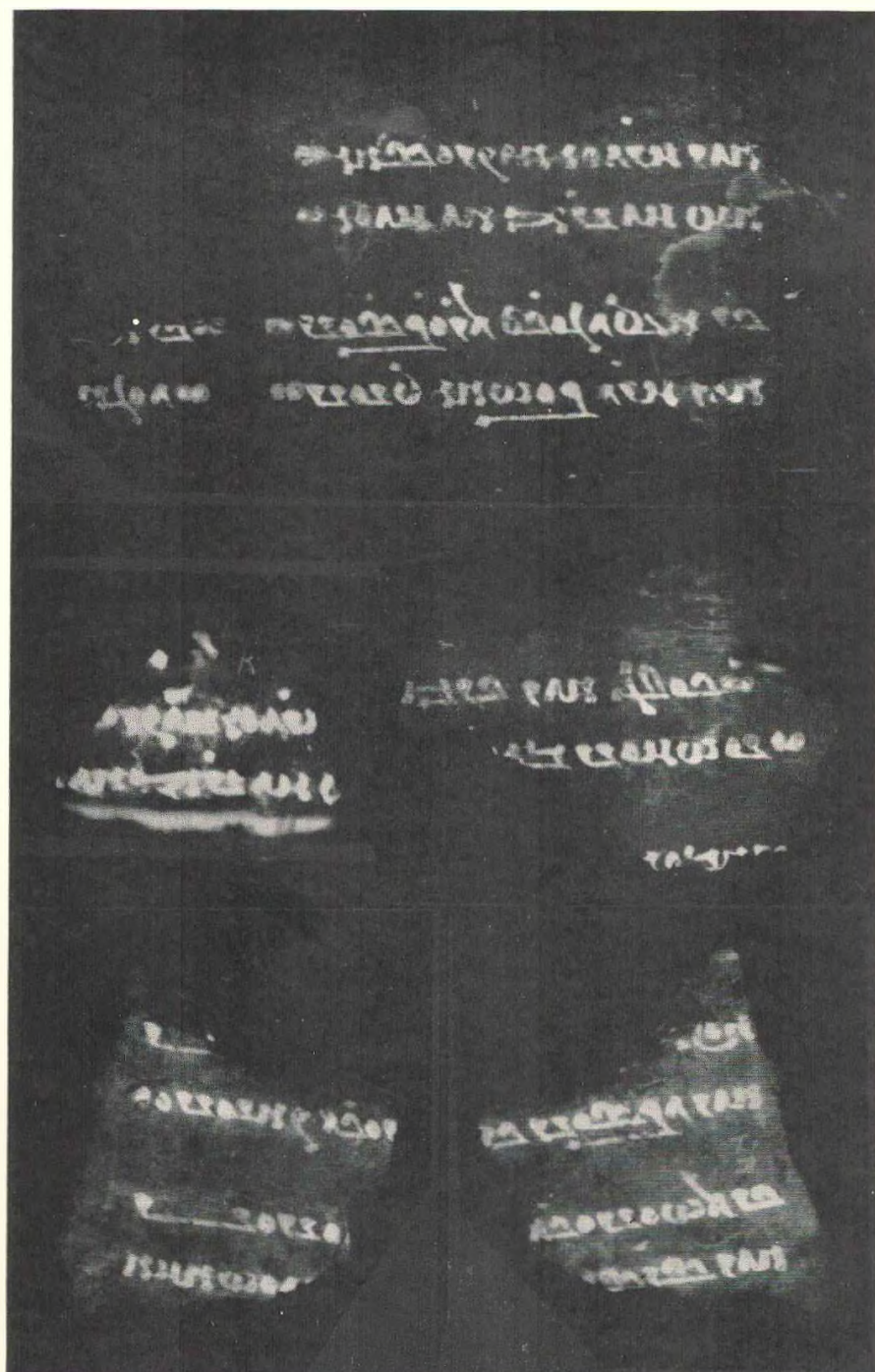
wnwh 'see, behold!' *A.R.* VII 8a, 9a.

- wnwhg* adj. 'trembling, quaking' *A.R.* VI 1a; subst. 'tremor, earthquake' *A.R.* VI 57a; VIIa 4a.
- wrd* 'captive' *A.R.* VIII 3b.
- wrdg* 'captive' *A.R.* II 2a.
- wrm* 'wave' *H.* IVa 5b; *A.R.* I 13a, 19b, 23b, 24a; pl. *A.R.* VI 45b.
- wrt-* pr. st. 'turn, go' *H.* IVa 8b; *A.R.* II 11a.
- wrw'd* pt. 'believe' *H.* VIII 12a.
- wrwc* 'lightning' *H.* I 32a; *A.R.* I 23a.
- wryh-* pr. st. 'overthrow' *H.* VIa 9a.
- ws* 'much, many' *A.R.* Ia 1a; VIII 16b.
- ws-* pr. st. (?) 'wish' (*H.*; cf. *Av.* vas-) *A.R.* VI 50a.
- wsn'd* 'on account of, because' prep. *A.R.* I 21b; VIIa 5b; postpos. *A.R.* VI 57a, 58a, 59a, 60a, 61a, 62a.
- wstmbg* see *wystmbg*.
- wsxt* by mistake for 'wsxt (q.v.) ?' *A.R.* VI 55a (variant).
- ws'd* see *wys'd*.
- ws'n-* pr. st. 'shake (down)' (see *H.* in *BSOAS.* xiii, p. 915 n. 1) *H.* I 35a.
- w[š]y-* pr. st. 'be hungry' (*H.*, cf. Sogd. *wš'y-*) *H.* Va 11a.
- wšmn-* pr. st. 'be glad' *H.* VIc 3a; *A.R.* VI 69b.
- wšmyd* 'joyous' *H.* I 59a.
- wšwbyšn* 'anarchy, violence' *A.R.* VII 31a.
- wšynd* 'hunger' (*H.*, who insists that *wšynd* and its companion-word *tšynd* 'thirst', in spite of the existence of *tšyndyft*, are not adjectives, as are, e.g., Sogd. 'wšnty: čš'ntk) *H.* I 28a.
- wx's'd* pt. 'become weak, enfeebled' (see *H.*, *BBB.*, pp. 82-83, n. to 688) *A.R.* Ia 13a.
- wx'st* pt. 'wish' *A.R.* VI 65a.
- wxd* emphatic, 'truly, indeed' *H.* VII 20a; *A.R.* VII 4b, 36b; VIII 14a, 15a, 16a.
- wxryd* pt. 'bend, make crooked' (see *Mir. Man.* iii, glossary, s.v.) *A.R.* Ia 2b.
- wxs-* see *wyxs-*.
- wxs'g* see *wyxs'g*.
- wxs* 'pleasant, sweet' *H.* I 60a; IVa 1b.
- wxs-* pr. st. 'be kindled, blaze' *D* 11a.
- wxšyndg* 'blazing, flaming' *A.R.* IIIb 12b; VII 23b (*rest.*).
- wxybyh*, *wxybyy* refl. poss. pron. 'own' *H.* IV 1a (*rest.*); VIc 2b (*rest.*); VIII 2a (*rest.*); *A.R.* Ia 2b; Ib 3b; VI 50b.
- wy'b'n* 'desert' *H.* Va 12a.
- wy'g* 'place' *H.* I 34a; V 10b; Va 12a; *A.R.* VI 67b, 73a; *A* 12a (twice); *D* 12a; pl. *H.* I 62b; *A.R.* VI 55b; VIIa 13b.
- wy'wrd* pt. 'speak, answer' *A.R.* VI 7a.
- wyd'r'd*, *wd'r'd* pt. 'cause to cross over, pass over; suffer, endure' *H.* VIc 14b; *A.R.* VI 44a; VII 5b; pr. st. *wyd'r-*, *wd'r-* *H.* IVa 2a, 4a, 8a, 9a; IVb 3a; *A.R.* I 3a; V 55a.
- wydbd-* pr. st. 'dissolve'? (in spite of the evidence of more than one MS., *H.* suspects that the inexplicable *wydbd-* may be a mistake for *wydyby-*, which occurs in *Mir. Man.* iii, and may belong to Sogd. *wydyβ'y-*, Gershevitch, *Gramm.*, § 293; hence possibly 'become extended, scattered, diffused') *A.R.* VII 24b.
- wydrd* pt. 'pass, pass beyond' *A.R.* VIII 5a; pr. st. *wydr-*, *wdr-* *H.* VII 20a; VIIIa 1a.
- wyg'n* 'harm, injury' *H.* I 23b, 34b; *A.R.* VII 28a.
- wyg'ng* 'ravaging, ravager' *H.* IVa 4b; *A.R.* VII 17b.
- wyg'nyšn*, *wg'nyšn* 'ravage, destruction' *H.* VIa 8a; *A.R.* I 3a; VI 4a, 72b; VIIa 5b.

- wygn-* pr. st. 'perish, be destroyed' *H.* IVb 1b; *A.R.* VII 10b, 12b, 18b, 25b.
- wygnđ* pt. 'ravage, destroy' *A.R.* VI 62b; pr. st. *wyg'n-* *H.* IVa 3b; *A.R.* I 13b; *D* 1b.
- wygnđg* 'ravaged, destroyed' *A.R.* VIIa 14b.
- wymnd* 'boundary, frontier' *H.* I 4a (*rest.*); Vb 1a (*rest.*); VII 20a; *A.R.* IIIb 2a; *M* 11b (*rest.*), 12a; *Q* 1a.
- wymnd wystmbg* 'border rebel' (see also *wystmbg*) pl. *A.R.* VII 23a.
- wyn-* see under *dyd*.
- wyn'r'd* pt. 'put in order, arrange, array' *A.R.* VIII 6a (*rest.*); pr. st. *wyn'r-* *A.R.* I 2a; VI 2b.
- wynd-* pr. st. 'find' *H.* V 20a; *A.R.* VII 31b; VIIa 3a.
- wynw'd, wnw'd* pt. 'tremble, shake; be shaken down' *A.R.* Ia 2a, 3a; VII 4b.
- wys'x[yft]* 'consolation, comfort' (see *List*) *H.* V 10a.
- wysp* 'all' *H.* IVa 7b, 9b; VIa 8b (*rest.*); VIb 13b (*rest.*); *A.R.* I 25a; Ib 2a; II 12a; IIIb 2a; VI 59b; VII 9a, 25a; VIII 1b, 2b, 4b; *P* 1a.
- wyspc'snyg* 'having all flavours' *A.R.* II 12b.
- wystmbg, wstmbg* 'rebellious, rebel' (*H.*, who refers to Arm. *apstamb*, Paikuli Parth. 19 = C' 4 *pystp[t]*, both = 'rebellious') *H.* VIc 1b (*rest.*); pl. *H.* VIa 3b; *A.R.* VII 23a.
- wystrg* 'delightful' (see *List*) *A.R.* VI 6a.
- wyš'd, wš'd* pt. 'open, set loose' *A.R.* I 15a, 26a; Ia 11b; VII 27b; pr. st. *wyš'h-*, *wš'h-* *H.* IVa 1a; V 15b; *A.R.* VI 32a, 66a; VIIa 3b.
- wyxs-, wxs-* pr. st. 'be wounded, pierced' *H.* V 4b; Va 12b.
- wyxs'g, wxs'g* 'thrust, stab' *H.* V 2a, 6a; VIb 21b; *A.R.* I 11b; Ia 5b (*rest.*).
- wyxtg* 'chosen' (see *H.*, *BSOAS*. xiii p. 646 n. 1) pl. *H.* VII 9a.
- wyzmr-, wyzmyr-, wzmr-* pr. st. 'wither' *H.* III 1b; *A.R.* VII 12a.
- wz-* pr. st. 'move, go' *A.R.* I 20b.
- wz'd* pt. 'abandon' *A.R.* VIII 13b.
- wzrgyft* 'greatness' *H.* I 63b; VII 10b, 12a.
- wzw-* pr. st. 'fade, die' *A.R.* VII 12a.
- wzynd* 'injury, hurt' *A.R.* Ia 8b (*rest.*).
- x'nyg* 'spring, well' *A.R.* I 15a.
- x'z'd* pt. 'devour' *H.* IVb 3b; *A.R.* VIIa 2a; pr. st. *x'z-* *H.* IVa 6b.
- x'zyndg* 'devouring' *H.* Va 11b; VIa 7a; pl. *H.* IVa 10b.
- xwd'y* 'lord' *A.R.* I 2a.
- xwmbwyft* 'fragrance' *H.* III 2a.
- xwmr* 'sleep' *H.* I 24a, 24b.
- xwš'd* pt. 'become dry' (see also *hwš-*) *A.R.* Ia 4b.
- y'd-* pr. st. 'reach, attain' *A.R.* II 11b; VII 22b, 25b; *D* 2b; *O* 13b; *P* 2b.
- y'wyd'n* 'eternal, eternally' *H.* I 7a, 22a, 61b; III 1b (*rest.*); VIb 11b; VIII 11a; *A.R.* VI 43b, 50b, 68a, 69b, 71a (*rest.*), 72a; VII 23b, 31b, 33a (*rest.*); VIIa 3a, 4b (*rest.*); VIII 6b, 15b; 'w y'wyd'n 'for ever, to eternity' *H.* V 3a.
- [y]wb[']d pt. 'complain' *A.R.* Ib 12b (*rest.*).
- ywobhr* 'sickness' *H.* I 32b; V 9b VIa 8b; VII 22b; *A.R.* Ib 13b; VI 4b, 49a; VII 1b; VIIa 11b; VIII 16b.
- ywd* 'separate, without'; *ywd''wyndq* 'unequalled, without peer' (*H.*; see ''wyndq') *A.R.* VI 5b.

- yzd* 'god' pl. *H.* VII 12a (*rest.*); *A.R.* VI 51b, 73b.
z'n'd pt. 'know' *H.* VII 9b; pr. st. *z'n-* *H.* I 6b, 52b; V 14b; *A.R.* I 5a.
z'newg 'knee' *A.R.* Ia 14a.
z'ryh 'sorrowfully' *A.R.* I 29b.
z'wr 'strength, power' *A.R.* Ia 14b; Ib 12a; VI 67a; VIII 6b; pl. 'the (Dark) Powers' *H.* I 33a; IVb 1b; VIa 3b; VIc 1b; VIII 12b; *A.R.* VI 9b, 58b, 59b.
zbyn 'lovely' *A.R.* VI 6a.
zmbg 'battle' *H.* I 33b; *A.R.* VI 33b, 57a; VIII 1b; *M* 12b.
zmbwdyg 'world' *A* 2a.
zmyg 'earth' *H.* I 34b, 48a, 49b, 54b; *A.R.* Ia 3a; IIIc 2a, 3a; VII 29b; pl. *A.R.* VI 57b (*rest.*).
zng 'kind, sort' *H.* IVa 9b; *A.R.* VII 10b.
- zrgwng* 'golden, green' *H.* I 22a; V 5b.
zrhyg 'of the sea' *H.* IVa 7b; *A.R.* I 23b; *B* 11b.
zmyn 'gilded' *A.R.* VII 26a.
zryh, *zryy* 'sea' *H.* IVa 2a; *A.R.* I 13a, 19a (*zry*), 20b, 28a; VI 45a; pl. *H.* I 29a.
zryq 'grief' *A.R.* VII 6a.
zwnws 'zone' *H.* IVa 2b; VIb 23a; *A.R.* IIIb 2a; *L* 11b.
zws 'willingness, eagerness' (*Av. zaoša*) *H.* VIc 1a.
zyn 'armour' *A.R.* VI 21a.
zynd'n 'prison' *H.* IVa 1a; VII 11b; *A.R.* IIIb 21b (as (*zyd*)*n'*[*n*]?); VI 42b; VII 8b, 18a; VIII 11b, 14b.
zyrd 'heart (of body)' *H.* Vb 1b; *A.R.* Ib 2a; VI 64b; 'heart, centre' (cf. *Vendidad* I, 3) *A.R.* I 20b.

PLATE I



M 895a = H. V 12-13

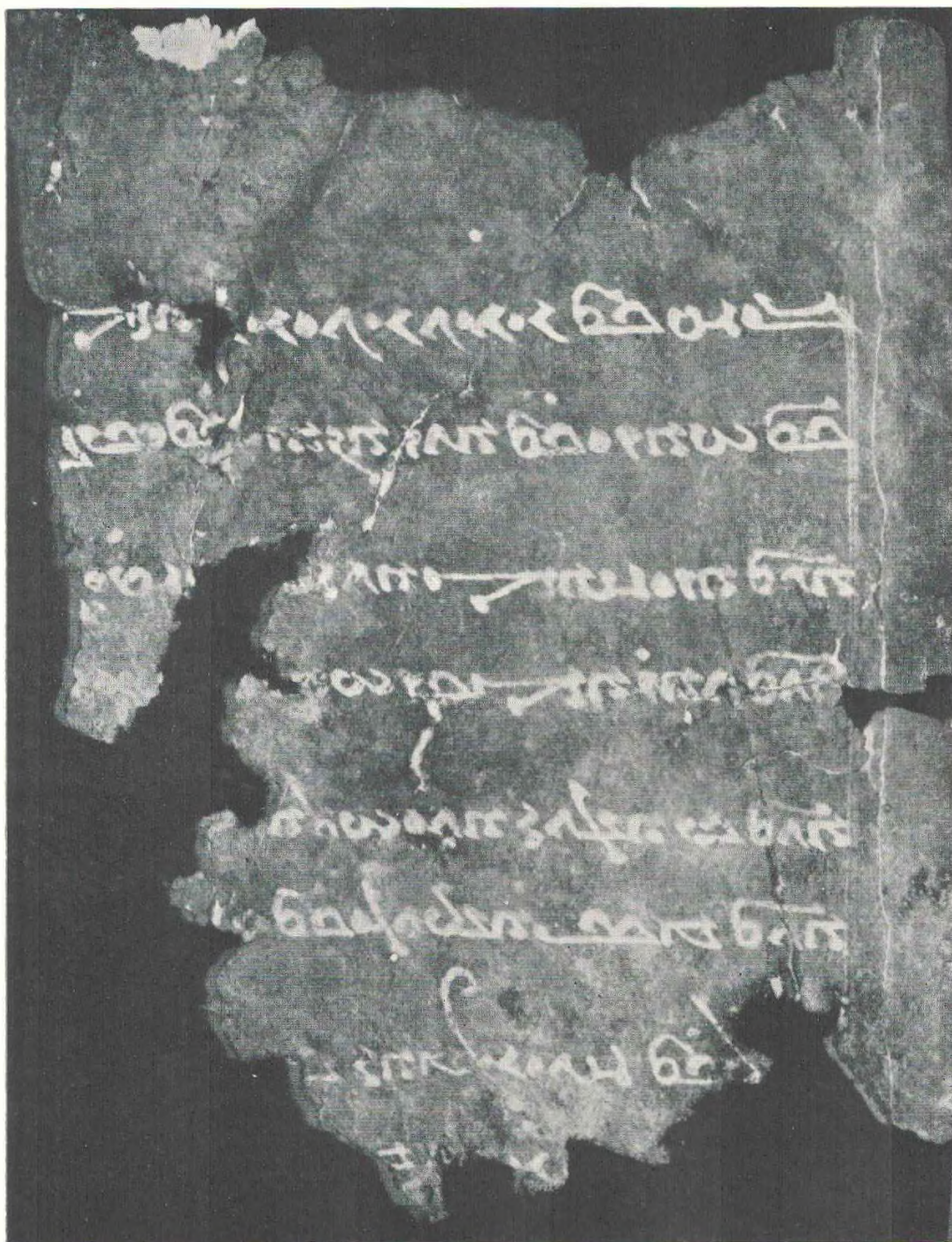
ea V = H. V 12

bv V = H. V 12-13

bu V = H. V 14-5

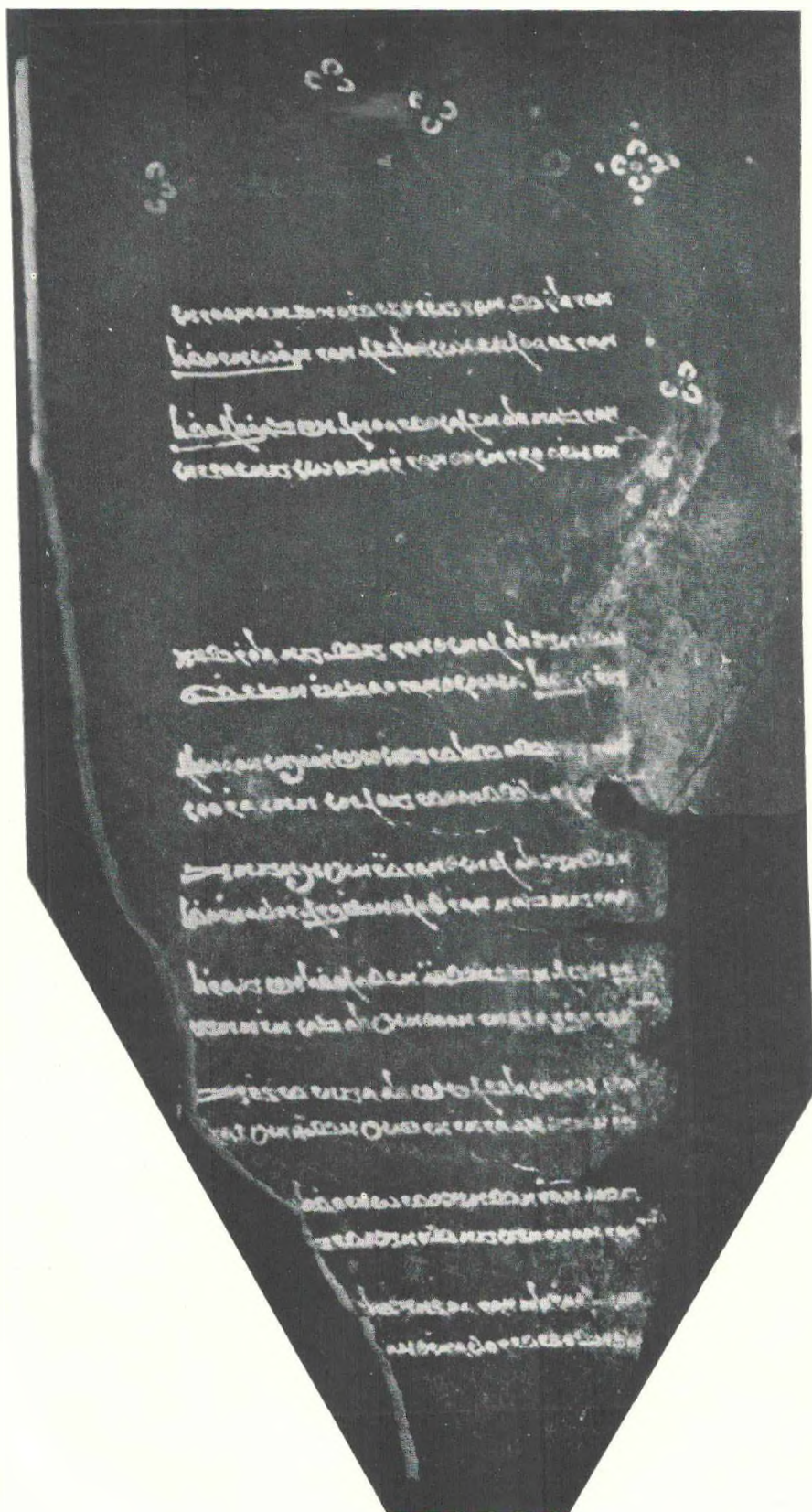
bu R = H. V 4-5

PLATE II



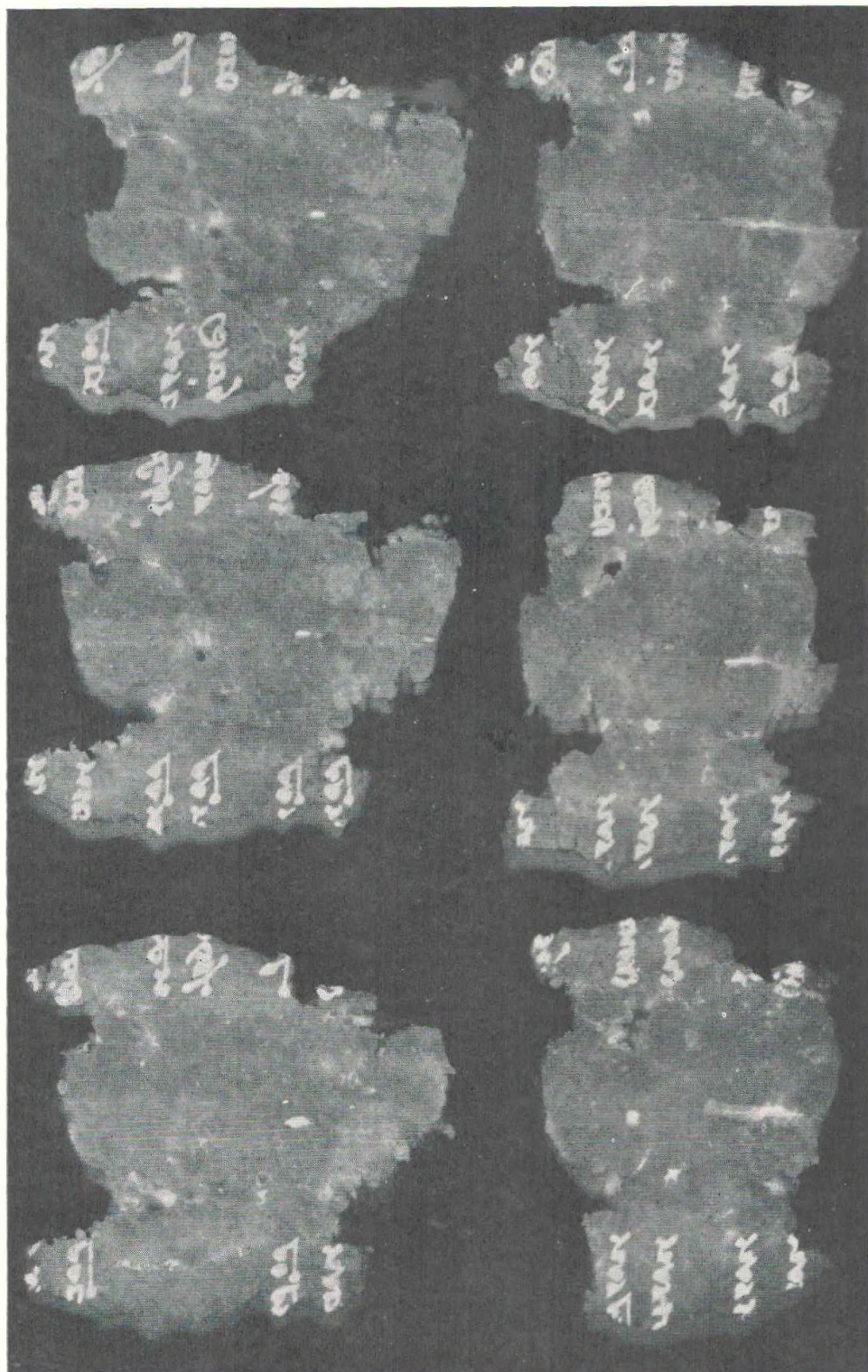
M 256 R = *H. VIIIa 1-3 and colophon

PLATE III



M 175 V = A. R. VI 72-VII 7

PLATE IV



an R+ao V
at R+au V

al R+am V
ar R+as V

aj R+ak, VI
ap R+aq V } = A. R. I 58-VI 70